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THE SCHOOL AS AN INSTRUMENT OF URBAN REFORM
EDUCATION IN WINNIPEG: 1890-1920

by

(C) William J. Wilson

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN
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in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

of DOCTOR OF PHILOSPHY

in HISTORY OF EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

The central problem in this thesis is one of determining if educational reformers when responding to the complex urban environment of Winnipeg, through greater emphasis on the school, reflected that environment in the school and achieved their purpose of preserving their idealized values. The focus of the investigation is the period 1890-1920 which was marked by emerging eras with differences in function, scale and social homogeneity.

Winnipeg underwent a period of growth and prosperity at the turn of the century and suffered at the same time from urban problems. Industrial and population growth put pressure on the institutions of home, school, and church, with the result that these agencies became less effective in socializing the youth of the city to traditional values associated with the dominant British Protestant way of life. Reform organizations were developed to assume a measure of the socializing role once performed by old institutions. The Social Gospel became associated with these new organizations and served as a strong motivating force in the reform movement.

The reform organizations, for the most part, gave priority to education and reflected a growing emphasis in the city on the importance of education in the changing urban environment. This emphasis began in 1890 as reformers determined to make greater use of the schools in an attempt to preserve established values. These reformers committed themselves to one public school system to perpetuate an

idealized vision of the past. All aspects of schooling were seen as being potentially influential in shaping the beliefs, values and conduct of the population. Buildings and grounds increased in number, in response to rapid population growth, and were designed to create a model environment, to contribute to healthful living. Teachers also increased in number and were chosen to exemplify the idealized model of British Protestant character. A common curriculum was expanded to emphasize British loyalty and Protestant moral values.

Continued urban growth intensified the problems of Winnipeg. An influx of diverse immigrant groups settled in the city and political, social and economic instability became a major concern. Civic leaders turned increasingly to the public school as a means of solving social problems. A differentiated school program was developed to meet different student needs. School buildings became large differentiated structures. Teachers received new patterns of professional training to handle a differentiated curriculum. The resultant educational reforms prepared the way for a new educational philosophy which became known as "progressivism in education."

In seeking to preserve their traditional values Winnipeg educators adopted new bureaucratic measures. They embarked on a program of mass education which resulted in a military model of bureaucracy in which reform meant standardization. This tended to submerge the old values of individuality, freedom and flexibility. As the population became more diverse and differentiation was introduced to the schools further bureaucratization was the result. A professionalized bureaucratic order developed. Individual independence gave way to interdependence and the values of freedom and equality came to mean freedom to pursue one's special place in society and equality of opportunity to achieve that place.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

C.P.R.	Canadian Pacific Railway
W.C.T.U.	Women's Christian Temperance Union
Y.M.C.A.	Young Men's Christian Associaton
Y.W.C.A.	Young Women's Christian Association

CHAPTER I

Introduction

This study is concerned with the Winnipeg schools, during the years 1890-1920. It examines the way a powerful group of social and educational reformers altered the schools in response to changes in their society. It focuses on the innovations that were introduced into the school system and encompasses all the major changes made in the schools during this thirty year period. These changes were, in some cases, initiated by reform-minded people outside the school system but were shaped and implemented by reformers who had direct responsibility for running the schools. These reformers, whether in the school system or outside the system, shared, for the most part, similar values and aspirations which had their roots in an idealized view of the small village environment of the past. They believed that the program of the schools was one way of preserving those values in a rapidly changing urban environment.

The years 1890-1920 were significant years in Winnipeg. Prior to 1890 industry began to develop and by 1890 capital and labor had frequently been in conflict. Consciousness of social division became apparent and the use of French as an official language and the dual system of public schools was abolished in 1890. Population began to increase rapidly and the years 1890-1913 became known as "the boom years."[1] Between 1890 and 1902 the population doubled from 23,000 to 48,411. By 1906 it had doubled again to 101,057. But the great influx of people had only begun, for in the next seven years 100,000 people came to the city increasing the population to 201,000 in 1913.[2]

The greatest expansion in the city took place after 1900 when what had been a relatively quiet and isolated area became an integral part of the larger national economy with economic structures that increasingly grew into large business enterprises. Grain marketing, financial institutions, manufacturing and retail enterprises all became part of a new integrated economy. As business flourished and the number of people in the city increased, providing a reservoir of skilled and unskilled workers, the character of the population also changed. A great influx of people, many from eastern Europe, crowded the city to make it the greatest center of "foreign" population in proportion to total population, of any city in Canada.

Social divisions increased and economic strife continued between capital and labor. The city became congested and unhealthy. Unemployment and poverty characterized the lives of many residents. Morality was perceived to be declining and the old institutions of home, church and school which had worked together to preserve the social order now appeared to be inadequate to meet the needs of the new urban environment.

The new business enterprises in the city required people to leave the home in order to earn a livelihood. This weakened the influence of the home and made it a less effective instrument in preserving values of the rural past. Also, the new business enterprises in the city weakened the influence of the church which had emphasized the values associated with individualism. The church's message to society was perceived to be increasingly irrelevant to modern conditions. In addition to weakening the influence of both the home and the church, the new business-industrial order also put the school "out of step" with the new emerging realities of urban society. The school had narrowly focused on academic education leaving practical "hands on" education to other institutions. However, when these institutions, such as home and trade training, failed to adequately meet the needs of the new society, the contribution of the school was viewed with increasing criticism. Thus, the home, the church and the school which had served the simpler society of the past were now weakened in their socializing effect.

While the effect of emerging business interests upon established institutions was enough in itself to cause concern among civic leaders, the great influx of foreign immigrants compounded the problem. These immigrants, many of whom came from eastern Europe, brought with them a whole array of values, many of which were in direct conflict with the values that had characterized the civic leaders' idealized vision of their rural past. The immigrants' standards of home life were perceived to be unacceptable. Their religion was different and many of the children spent little or no time in the schools. It was believed by the city's civic leadership that the homes of these new residents could not then be depended upon to promote acceptable values. Similarly the traditional Protestant church which had perpetuated a Protestant value system could not effectively reach those with a wholly different religious tradition and therefore became increasingly ineffective in preserving the traditional value system. The school, too, in failing to attract or retain many immigrant children, was not able to exercise the influence upon them that civic leaders perceived to be necessary.

As urban problems developed in the city, the social theory which became known generally as the Social Gospel, made its appearance in a number of the Protestant churches in Winnipeg. It advocated the abandonment of old doctrinal disputes and promoted the idea of a Protestant Christian unity which would enable church people to exert a united effort in preserving the old Protestant Christian values that appeared to be threatened in the new urban environment. This new emphasis in the church raised the level of social consciousness for many church people. As a result they became involved in a number of secular social organizations which were designed to recreate, in the new urban environment, the social and religious attitudes of an idealized rural past. These organizations focused on educational activities. The development of these organizations in the city made clear to Winnipeg residents how organizations with Protestant Christian values, while removed from church connections, could be used to pursue clearly delineated social goals. This led to a recognition that the school, which had been separated from religious connections in 1890 but had not separated from its Protestant religious value orientation, was an organization that could be used to assist in the pursuit of specific social goals. Links were formed between the public schools and the new organizations and these organizations involved the schools, either directly or indirectly, in the pursuit of their social goals. Since different organizations with different goals were able to involve the schools in their work, it became apparent that the school system was an organization that could encompass the work of many organizations in a changing society.

When social change became apparent in the 1880s and the one school system was introduced in 1890 a new educational philosophy was introduced to the schools that elevated them to serve as a basic socializing agency in the city. This new philosophy gained ground, and, as Artibise[3] has indicated, when immigrants from all over the world came to live in Winnipeg, the Anglo-Saxon residents looked to the public schools as an important organization through which such immigrants could be "elevated to the level of Canadian life." The pursuit of this new educational philosophy brought about many changes in the schools. Chafe[4] has outlined some of the changes that occurred in the Winnipeg school system. While he does not focus on the socializing role of the school he does indicate that the school program expanded to include such things as athletics, military drill, school gardening, practical arts and medical inspection and that some of these additions to the school program were to prepare immigrant children "for a way of life drastically different from that under which their parents had grown up." Sutherland[5] has also noted important changes in Winnipeg schools including handwork, medical inspection and technical education. He indicated that much that had been theoretical, as recently as the turn of the century, was incorporated into Winnipeg schools prior to World War I. Thus by World War I the public school was serving a much more diverse school-aged population than it had two decades before, and was attempting to serve as a significant socializing agency to make up for the perceived deficiency in the old institutions.

In seeking to maintain their old values through social organizations that were designed to maintain those values, the reform minded citizens exhibited their conservative social orientation. However, at the same time they manifested a progressive spirit in the acceptance of change.

Paul Rutherford[6] has examined the urban reform movement in Canada during the years 1880-1920 and has indicated many middle class people, who defined their values in a Christian context, believed that urban growth "posed a serious menace to the future of the nation." They launched a drive for social reform and in that pursuit they institutionalized reform at the three levels of government "creating a bureaucracy which systematically carried forward their work." Rutherford states that the process in Canada was similar to that in the United States where society "was reordered, more properly integrated, by [a] now urban middle class along collectivist lines."

Robert Wiebe has examined social change in a similar period in the United States and has indicated there were those who were interested in preserving old village values. Those who sought to preserve the old values were faced with "the complex dilemma of an industrial society" which they perceived to require a major social reorganization more suitable to their new sense of urban location. They believed that "impersonal life in flux" could best be understood as the interaction of groups--theirs relating to others. A new bureaucratic orientation with new values of "continuity and regularity, functionality and rationality, administration and management" began to appear in shadows and corners. These values lent themselves to "piecemeal" adoption and were often found existing in combination with other values in reform minded people. According to Wiebe, these new bureaucratic ideas, at least on the surface, appeared to continue "the reign of traditional village values." The new orientation actually seemed to revitalize the ways of the town as once again such values as "frugality, promptness, foresight, efficiency" and other old values "sat enthroned within a system." However, in reality, a shift had taken place in America's values from those of the small town in the 1880s to those of a new bureaucratic minded urban middle class.[7]

A similar change has been observed by Marvin Lazerson in his examination of Massachusetts' schools in the years 1870-1915. He indicates that reformers, in the midst of social change, perceived that a prior harmony in society had been rudely shattered. These reformers turned to the schools to preserve old values and introduced the kindergarten and manual training to inculcate old values that once were a part of the old village community. When this reform effort appeared to fail they shifted their emphasis to vocational training to fit the child into an industrial society. A new middle class of professionals and specialists made the "values of continuity and regularity, functionality and rationality, administration and management," dominant. The rhetoric of schooling less frequently offered the old justification of intellectual and moral training as increased attention was given to social demands. Bureaucratic minded reformers reorganized the schools in accord with business models and pursued a school program of a differentiated curriculum and the preparation of pupils for occupational roles.[8]

Recent studies of urban growth have shown it to be a complex process. Roy Lubove has stated "a city, essentially is an artifact, a physical container within which complex human and institutional relationships are established, and essential maintenance functions performed." The "physical container or environment" has both a structure and a form. The structure involves "the spacial organization of key functional areas and essential service facilities . . . in response to certain fundamental living needs and activities of human society." The form involves "the visually perceptive features of the city which this structure produces, both the two-dimensional and three-dimensional forms created by surface, spaces, structures and circulatory systems in a defined natural setting."[9] Lubove indicates "specific decisions" shape "specific environments" of "specific cities" and this "city building complex" is related to technology and social organization.[10]

Gilbert A. Stelter, in writing on "Shaping the Urban Landscape Aspects of the Canadian City-Building Process," has outlined a "periodization" which he believes to be "relevant to the stages of Canadian urban development." These periods are the mercantile, the commercial and the industrial. The mercantile was a period of imperial control over "urban location, function and growth." The commercial, though less easily defined is seen as a transitional period between the mercantile and the industrial period. Stelter is careful to point out that all places did not go through these phases in a deterministic fashion. Towns of the west are pointed out as functioning essentially as commercial towns though they "grew up in a generation dominated by industry and its products."[11] Winnipeg is cited as a city that "developed significant industry in [its] own right, but remained more commercially oriented than cities in the central region."[12]

The new industrial era, according to Stelter, "stimulated a new scale of population growth and of physical and spatial expansion. There was a "more definite" separation of various functions than that which had characterized the commercial era.[13] The industrial era was marked by "the emergence of industrial capitalism and its counterpart, the industrial working class." The "industrial elite" joined with the "commercial elite" and society was "polarized" between those who "owned capital and purchased labor and those who sold their labor as a commodity."[14] During this time the changing scale of cities had an impact on "the social landscape." Business enterprises became larger and specialization in land use separated industrial, commercial, and residential functions more definitely than in the commercial era. This "specialization" resulted in "the two part city, with residence separated from workplace." But "the most characteristic feature of the social landscape of industrial towns and cities," according to Stelter, "was the way in which society increasingly sorted itself out on the basis of ethnicity or class." Winnipeg is cited as "the prototype of the segregated city" with the "elite living in the south and the non-English speaking working class crowded into a ghetto north of the railway tracks."[15] Stelter has indicated "in the late 1890s, urban leaders began to call for solutions to the threat which rapid growth seemed to pose for the future of the nation."[16]

The Winnipeg Public School System, as part of the city's environment reflected "the city building process over time" as outlined by Lubove and Stelter. Just as Lubove has argued the evolution of each city has a particular structure and form and Stelter has outlined the eras in the process of city building, similarly this process of city building over time can be expected to be found in social organizations of society such as the school. Therefore the school in reflecting this process would likely exhibit a sequence of eras in which community types emerge with differences in function and scale, social homogeneity and nature of authority. Furthermore it is likely that these differences based on stages of business in the city building process would also be illustrated in the organization of the schools.

Just as the schools can be expected to reflect the city building process over time they can also be expected to reflect the urban reform movement outlined by Rutherford. If this hypothesis is valid the schools should demonstrate that a middle class control of schools existed and that it attempted to preserve traditional values through institutionalized reform at the level of school government creating a bureaucracy which "systematically carried on their work." One way of determining this will be to examine the relationship between social change and the changes in the Winnipeg school system that involved school facilities and the school program.

There are no sources on education in the city of Winnipeg that are concerned with the hypothesis of this study. Winnipeg, like most major centers in Canada, has lacked any comprehensive study of its educational system. Writers like Chafe[17] and Lucow[18] have focused on education in Winnipeg but both accounts are limited in nature. Chafe has outlined changes that occurred in the school system but has made no attempt to investigate the socializing role of the school. Lucow has confined himself to an examination of elementary education and has made his study largely a descriptive account of changes in elementary schools. Other writers have referred to changes in Winnipeg schools but have only done so in investigations that have focused on other areas of study. Keith Wilson[19] has made reference to the schools in the city of Winnipeg but has done so only in the context of his concern with education in the province. Sutherland[20] has used the Winnipeg school system as an illustration of what he has called "the new education." While he has listed some of the major changes that took place in the schools, the focus of his study is on the development of the twentieth century Canadian view of childhood.

Though the hypothesis of this study has not been investigated in Winnipeg, or other major Canadian cities, it has been the concern of writers in the United States as they focused their attention on education in the United States. Callahan[21] has made a study of school organization and has indicated that new business values in society became dominant in school reform. School organization was modeled on the administrative structure of the industrial plant and the principles of corporate scientific management were applied to the schools in the interests of efficient operation of the schools.

Tyack[22] has made a more comprehensive examination of school organization and has outlined social changes that consisted of the merging of village patterns into "urbanism as a way of life." Business establishments separated the place of work from the home and organizations developed in which impersonal and codified roles structured human relationships. The old personal role relationships were replaced by the new diffused pattern. The person who once functioned as a "Jack-of-all-trades" in the rural community came to "perform specialized trades in the city." Reliance on tradition and folkways as guides to belief and conduct gave way to new norms of behavior as new sources of information became available and science became "a persuasive source of authority." A new middle class was formed as people began to define themselves as members of occupational groups with common interests that transcended old boundaries. Tyack has argued that the schools reflected and shaped these changes. School systems developed specialized structures which "partly reflected the differentiation of economic roles in the larger social order." In addition to this, the school curriculum changed to serve as a bridge between the family and the organizational world--"that is" it helped "to create an urban discipline." The outcome of all this was a highly bureaucratized school system marked by the values of efficiency, rationality and continuity.

This study then is concerned with a period of social reform in which there was a marked change in societal values as people adjusted to the modern urban industrial city. It examines the reformers' use of the schools to deal with changing social conditions and seeks to determine if such use of the schools gave rise to the establishment of a bureaucratic professionalized order that fitted a business-industrial society. While focusing on the issue of bureaucratization, the study also will address such questions as:

1. To what extent were the reform ideas original or borrowed?

2. Was the reform effort in the schools consistent and uniform over the thirty year period?

3. Were the roles envisioned for elementary and secondary education congruent?

4. To what extent did the presence of an expanding immigrant population as part of the complex urban environment influence school reform?

This is a local study focusing on the problems of one Canadian city and the response of the public school system to the challenge of those problems. While there is general recognition that the schools, at the turn of the century, were expected to solve social problems, little is known of the problems, how they were perceived and the role of the schools in the pursuit of solutions to those problems in local areas. The determination of these things adds to the store of knowledge in local Canadian history. The study will be an addition to similar studies on Canadian urban centres, and will help to determine uniqueness and similarity in reform and attempt to account for them.

In examining the innovations in the Winnipeg public school system the writer confines the study to the period of growth between 1890 and 1920. The year 1890 marks the organization of the one public school system in the city and the following years, culminating in 1920, mark the era of major change in the school system. L. Orlikow indicates that by 1920 the reform movement in Manitoba had collapsed having achieved its short run objectives.[23]

The study relies on a number of sources of information relating to the nature of the schools in the city of Winnipeg. Among secondary sources are a chronological outline of the development of the school system written by W.G. Pearce.[24] It covers the years 1871-1950, and is a compilation of the author's view of significant events recorded in the minutes of the Winnipeg Public School Board. A thesis by Lucow[25] on the elementary schools of Winnipeg, also contains a chronological record of some events in the school system. Both these works are valuable as they provide a useful framework of events over a broad period of time. Both fail to analyze these events to help the reader appreciate why they occurred or how they relate to the nature of society.

Artibise[26] has provided a wealth of information on the development of the city of Winnipeg. While his statistical description of population growth and diversity and his general description of social conditions in the city are helpful, there is very little reference made to the school system.

A useful description of both the growth of the city and the schools has been provided by Chafe.[27] While he makes reference to the relationship between school changes and old traditional values he does not attempt to provide any analysis of their relationship. Nor does he focus on any examination of a possible change in value orientation among school reformers.

An important source of information on the education of immigrant children is provided by W.J. Sisler.[28] Sisler spent his teaching career among immigrants and recorded his experiences as an educator. An equally important source of information has been provided by Sybil Shack[29] who, as a member of an immigrant family, recorded the immigrant experience in the schools. This record is particularly important for it provides some insight into the immigrant perspective as to what was occurring in the schools.

As a whole, this study has relied on a number of readily available primary sources. The primary sources which have not been available are those that relate to personal correspondence, diaries or notes of those directly involved in the schools. These personal documents have either been lost or destroyed making it necessary to rely on the following documentary sources: the annual reports of the Manitoba Department of Education; the annual reports of the Winnipeg Public School System; the Educational Journal of Western Canada; The Western School Journal; The Manitoba Free Press; and The Winnipeg Tribune.

The annual reports of the Manitoba Department of Education and the Winnipeg Public School Board are very valuable sources of information even though they share the bias of the official view of events. The annual reports of the Manitoba Department of Education while covering the province, include specific references to Winnipeg. These reports also include the full annual reports of the Superintendent of the Winnipeg public schools. The annual reports of the Winnipeg public schools, contained in bound volumes from the 1880s to the present, include all aspects of a large urban school system, the Superintendent's reports, the Treasurer's reports, reports on buildings, manual training in the high schools as well as statistical descriptions of pupil attendance and school finance.

For insight into the special concerns and priorities of the educators, both the Educational Journal of Western Canada and the Western School Journal are invaluable. In these journals writers had the opportunity to express their beliefs concerning society and education.

The Educational Journal of Western Canada, published for four years at the turn of the century, was in the hands of two leading Winnipeg educators, D. McIntyre and W.A. McIntyre. It is especially useful in identifying schoolmen's ideology as well as providing insight into educational developments. Volumes II, III and IV, containing Journal issues 1 to 10 outline the values of the dominant group in society.

The Winnipeg newspapers are the best source of information on local affairs. Editorials on local subjects, copies of speeches delivered at local functions, sermon outlines by local clergymen and letters to the editor were all regular features of the newspapers. The issue of education was frequently featured in the press and the Manitoba Free Press regularly carried articles that noted changes in the schools. A notable series of articles on compulsory education was carried on a daily basis throughout the early months of 1913.

With the foregoing sources serving as a basis for the examination of the inception of reform in the schools and the value orientation of the reformers, this study will be divided into two main sections. The first will deal with the city, its growth, development, social problems, civic leadership and value orientation. The second section will focus on the schools of the period and the changes introduced within the system reflecting concerns of the larger society. Chapters two and three deal with the city of Winnipeg whereas chapters four and five examine school reform associated with rapid urban growth and the shifting needs of the city. Each of chapters four and five focus on social issues of concern in Winnipeg to see the extent to which, and the way in which, the school was used to confront these issues. The final chapter will consist of summary and conclusions.

NOTES:

[1] W.L. Morton, *Manitoba: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 273.

[2] See Appendix, Table 1. See Alan F.J. Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914* (Montreal and London: McGill-Queens University Press, 1975).

[3] Ibid.

[4] J.W. Chafe, *An Apple for the Teacher: A Centennial History of the Winnipeg School Division* (Winnipeg: Hignall Printing Co. Ltd., 1967).

[5] Neil Sutherland, *Children in English Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth Century Consensus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976).

[6] Paul Rutherford, "Tomorrow's Metropolis: The Urban Reform Movement in Canada: 1880-1920," in Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F. J. Artibise, eds., *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart Ltd., 1977).

[7] Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), pp. 145-155.

[8] Marvin Lazerson, *Origins of the Urban School: Public Education in Massachusetts, 1870-1915* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 11-15.

[9] Roy Lubove, "The Urbanization Process: An Approach to Historical Research" in A. Callow, ed., *American Urban History* (New York, 1973), p. 643.

[10] Ibid., p. 650.

[11] G. A. Stelter, "The City-Building Process in Canada," in Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F. J. Artibise, eds., *Shaping the Urban Landscape: Aspects of the City-Building Process* (Ottawa, 1982), p. 5.

[12] Ibid., p. 25.

[13] Ibid., p. 18.

[14] Ibid., p. 19.

[15] Ibid., p. 28.

[16] Ibid., p. 27.

[17] Chafe, *An Apple for the Teacher*.

[18] William Harrison Lucow, "The Origin and Growth of the Public School System in Winnipeg," M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba (1950).

[19] Keith Wilson, "The Development of Education in Manitoba," Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University (1967).

[20] Sutherland, Children in English Canadian Society.

[21] Raymond E. Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

[22] David B. Tyack, The One Best System (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1974).

[23] Lionel Orlikow, "The Reform Movement in Manitoba, 1910-1915," Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions, Series 3, no. 16, Winnipeg (1961). p. 60.

[24] W.G. Pearce, "Winnipeg School Days, 1871-1950", Provincial Archives of Manitoba

[25] Lucow, "Origin and Growth," M.Ed. thesis.

[26] Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History

[27] Chafe, An Apple for the Teacher.

[28] W. J. Sisler, Peaceful Invasion (Winnipeg: Ketchum Printing Co., 1944).

[29] Sybil Shack, "The Education of Immigrant Children During the First Two Decades of This Century," Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions, Series 3, no. 30, Winnipeg (1973-1974).

CHAPTER II

The City of Winnipeg

This chapter provides an account of the development of industry and immigration in the city of Winnipeg. It delineates the problems that pronounced urban growth created for Winnipeg citizens as the pressure of numbers put stress on the social fabric by destabilizing the institutions of home, church, and school. Furthermore, it also identifies a majority group of Winnipeg citizens who were distinguished by a set of beliefs which were perceived to be in need of being maintained in the face of increasing industrialization and immigration.

Early Development

Winnipeg began as a small and relatively insignificant settlement on the banks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers. In 1870 it was an unincorporated village of a few hundred English Protestants and French Roman Catholics.[1] By 1891 Winnipeg had grown to a population of 24,000,[2] and most of these were English Protestants.[3] They early recognized the strategic location of the settlement as a transportation center. It was situated at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine rivers and was known as a trading post that could be reached from north, south, east and west. The water routes were especially valuable to early settlers who found them a most convenient means of travel to their homesteads in the days of the steamboat.[4] The civic leaders were determined to maintain Winnipeg as a transportation center and exerted aggressive leadership to persuade the Canadian Pacific Railway syndicate to locate its tracks through the city. They were successful in not only getting the railway but the railway shops as well.[5] With the main line of the C.P.R. running through Winnipeg the city had a direct link with both the east and west. In addition to this it soon became the focal point for twelve railway systems which gave the city access to all the settled areas of the northwest.[6] The future of the city was ensured and in the next three decades it "became the hub of commercial activity in the northwest".[7]

The strategic position of the city, on the railway where it entered the western plains, made Winnipeg the headquarters of the grain trade in the west.[8] The Winnipeg Grain Exchange was opened in 1887 and incorporated in 1891. It eventually became a major factor in world grain trade.[9]

The railways, which had given the city prominence in the grain trade, also were important in the development of industry. The rail yards gave rise to workshops where repairs and general maintenance were carried on for the railway's rolling stock.[10] These shops, in turn gave rise to industry ranging from construction materials to needle trades. The availability of transportation services made possible the development of packing plants, flour mills and metal firms.[11] The growth of manufacturing in the city has been tabulated by Artibise in Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth and is indicated in table II-1

TABLE II-1

Manufacturing in City of Winnipeg, 1881-1915

Year	Population	Capital	Employees	Salaries & wages	Net Value of products
		$		$	$
1881	7,985	691,655	950	410,744	1,700,320
1891	25,639	3,124,367	2,359	1,176,861	5,611,240
1901	42,340	4,673,214	3,155	1,810,845	8,616,248
1911	136,035	25,820,430	11,565	7,506,148	35,502,380
1915	150,000	73,320,176	15,295	11,117,093	47,686,070[12]

Among other business ventures that flourished in Winnipeg were the wholesale and retail businesses. Since the city served a large area, the wholesale business grew rapidly until by 1890 there were eighty wholesale firms doing fifteen million dollars worth of business annually.[13] The J. H. Ashdown Hardware Store, which was built in 1904 to replace one that burned, was regarded as "the finest hardware store in Canada." In 1905 the T. Eaton Company opened their retail store which covered five and one half acres and employed eight hundred people. Further expansion almost doubled the original five and a half acres to provide for both the urban and rural market.[14]

There were also businessmen who saw the opportunity to prosper in the construction business. Many buildings were needed for the expanding enterprises in the city. There was also a need for housing as the population increased. There was a further need to replace buildings that had burned. In 1904 building permits were the highest in Canada at 9.6 million dollars. In Toronto that year permits totalled 5.9 million dollars and in Montreal 3.7 million dollars. In 1905 building permits were issued in Winnipeg for construction that was worth 12.8 million dollars.[15]

Such large sums of money required a capital base in the city which was supplied by eastern financial institutions. However, Winnipeg was developing it's own financial institutions. The Great West Life Insurance Company was established in 1892. Local banks organized a clearing house in 1893.[16] The Canadian Fire Insurance Company was organized by local businessmen and expanded to include agencies across Canada. Another local business venture was the Northern Trust Company established in 1904 by twelve local men. A private bank opened by Alloway and Champion in 1905 grew to be one of the largest private banks in Canada. In addition to this, the Winnipeg Stock Exchange was organized in 1903 and began to do business in 1907.[17] The influence of Winnipeg's financial institutions was felt across all of Canada as the economy of the city flourished in the decades at the turn of the century.

Problems

As Winnipeg developed it became apparent that a new kind of social organization had also developed. The Manitoba Free Press indicated:

> Huge factories have taken the place of small workrooms, vast mills stand where of old stood shops of one-hundredth output. . . . [There are] armies of workers [and] a long linkage of managers, foremen, and gangers. Under the necessities of the case there can be no such community of feeling, no such sense of responsibility, as when master and man worked in the same shop, felt heat and cold together, were together liable to the same hurt and harms from an exploding tank, or a bursting wheel. 18

The most visible manifestation of this new organization in

Winnipeg was the Canadian Pacific Railway. When the railway's marshaling yards were completed the company provided employment for nearly 2,000 men.[19] The large industrial organization made obsolete the little shop where master and man worked together. It also disrupted the old apprenticeship system. Some years later businessmen in the city joined together to express their concern over the scarcity of apprentices and the consequent necessity, in many cases, to rely on untrained help.[20]

This new kind of "social organization" which saw the old individual relationship of "master and man" give way to the larger collective enterprise also included the development of the large labor union as a counterpart to the large collective. Labor unions first emerged in Winnipeg in the years 1881-1884.[21] Among the unions that were formed during this period were the Winnipeg Typographers, the Plasterers, the Telegraphers, the Bricklayers, the Stonecutters, the Boiler Makers, the Brakemen, the Conductors and the Locomotive Engineers. All of the unions were concerned with better pay and working conditions and by 1884 six of these unions had gone on strike in an attempt to achieve these "better conditions."[22] By 1899 there were 29 active unions in the city which took part in a Labor Day parade and the united strength of labor was represented in a flourishing Trades and Labor Congress.[23]

As early as 1891 Daniel McIntyre, Superintendent of Winnipeg Schools, saw what he perceived to be a serious danger to society rising out of the rapid urban changes that were giving rise to the corporate industrial society. He stated:

> A serious menace to the stability of our institutions looms up in the distance through the approaching shock of hostile interests in our industrial system. 24

There is no doubt that the changing urban society began to put pressure on social institutions which once served a simpler society of individual relationships and helped preserve the social order. Problems were being created that had never before been faced by Winnipeg residents. One of the social institutions to feel the onslaught of industrialism was the home. W. A. McIntyre, Principal of the Normal School in Winnipeg, indicated:

> The very blindest can perceive the difference between the [home] as it existed a few years ago and the institution as it exists today. The change was inevitable. It was one of the necessary results of the industrial revolution we have all witnessed. In an age of home manufacture boys and girls remained under the parental roof, but now that the factory system prevails, a majority of our young people spend most of their time among strangers, and know not the joys of the family fireside. There seems to be no greater problem for Canadians than that of wisely adjusting home life to our new conditions. The . . . parent . . . must be doubly vigilant and trebly careful, and he must recognize that in any scheme of adjustment he must retain the old home virtues--thrift, honesty and filial piety--from which spring in due course all other graces of mind and heart. 25

But it was not only the home that was affected by the new industrial society. The Protestant church which was traditionally committed to what Richard Allen has called "the individualism of the evangelical way"[26] faced difficulties when confronted with the new corporate society. It stood in danger of becoming irrelevant to a changed society. The Manitoba Free Press reported in 1897:

> A [church] message which has only reference to the life to come and takes no account of the conditions of life as they are, not only fails of being a complete Gospel, but loses one of the sources of its power in moving men. 27

It appears that there was some fear in Winnipeg that the masses of people were, in fact, overlooking the church as a source of answers for human needs. Rev. R .A. Scarlett, preaching in Wesley Church, indicated that the masses of people were being alienated from the church because the church was failing to transmit creed into deed and the needs of people were not being met.[28]

Rev. J. B. Silcox said "we have reached a stage of development when we must apply the teachings of Jesus to our industrial and political life or else abandon Christianity and seek a solution elsewhere."[29] In a further report found in the Manitoba Free Press it was stated:

> So long as ministers confine themselves to the old ground of personal morality, it is as though they were to repeat the tables of threes every Sunday morning. . . . Ministers ought to give . . . . social preaching . . . [dealing] directly and intimately with the social conditions of their times. When the ordinary preachers have neglected these the masses of the people, with unerring instinct have denied their claim to religious leadership and have followed "laymen" like Shaftesbury and Phillips and Roosevelt, as their real priests. 30

Some concern over the religious leadership was expressed by Dr. Duval in November, 1898 when he addressed the Foreign Mission Meeting of the Presbyterian Church. He indicated that attendance was good at Sunday services but deplored the decline in family worship and religious teaching.[31]

The changed industrial conditions were perceived to have weakened the home and made the traditional church emphasis largely irrelevant. However, there was another institution, the school, that faced problems that were created by industrialization. The school, like the church, had made the individual "the object of solicitation."[32] But it was also beginning to appear as an institution that was losing a large measure of usefulness for it was not related to the needs of an industrial society. G. W. Murray, a Winnipeg resident, wrote to the Manitoba Free Press to publicly complain that the schools were no longer meeting the needs of society. He believed that while children were being brought up in an industrial society the school was educating children away from "industrial pursuits."[33] Mrs. G. Bryce, wife of a prominent Presbyterian clergyman, in an address, as president of the "Women's Home," in 1900, indicated that she believed that the absence of "industrial training" in the schools pointed to "some defect in the educational system."[34] Superintendent of Schools, Daniel McIntyre, also expressed his belief that the schools would have to change if they were to "meet the needs of the people and the conditions under which they were living."[35]

The development of the new corporate industrial society was clearly perceived to create problems for the home, the church and the schools. But immigration was another urban change that had an impact on the city. During the years before and after the turn of the century, Winnipeg was host to a number of immigrants who were non-English and of this group many were also non-Protestant. The origins of Winnipeg's population, the birthplace of the foreign born and their religious affiliation have been tabulated by Artibise in Winnipeg: a Social History and are shown in Tables II-2, II-3, and II-4.

Table II-2

Origins of Winnipeg's Population, 1881-1916

Origins	1881 No.	%	1886 No.	%	1901 No.	%	1911 No.	%	1916 No.	%
English	2,332	29.2	6,946	34.3	14,559	34.5	42,408	31.2	57,190	35.1
Scotch	2,470	30.9	5,380	26.6	9,190	21.7	25,789	19.0	31,392	19.3
Irish	1,864	23.4	4,391	21.7	7,324	17.3	15,432	11.4	19,466	11.9
Other British	13	.2	78	.4	157	.4	923	.7	1,190	.7
Total British	6,679	83.6	16,795	83.0	31,230	73.9	84,552	62.3	109,238	67.0
Scandinavian & Icelandic	409	5.1	1,350	6.7	3,322	7.9	4,956	3.6	5,921	3.6
German	186	2.3	545	2.7	2,283	5.4	8,912	6.6	5,632	3.5
Austro-Hungarian	-	-	-	-	1,147	2.7	6,072	4.5	4,022	2.5
Russian & Polish	6	.1	293	1.4	624	1.5	6,301	4.6	8,606	5.3
Ukrainian	-	-	-	-	-	-	900	.7	8,621	5.3
French	450	5.6	610	3.0	1,379	3.3	2,695	2.0	3,115	1.9
Dutch	5	.1	50	.2	92	.2	535	.4	795	.5
Italian	26	.3	59	.3	147	.3	769	.6	1,276	.8
Asian	2	.1	16	.1	121	.3	586	.4	660	.3
Jewish	4	.1	61	.3	1,156	2.7	9,023	6.6	13,473	8.2
Indian-Metis	9	.1	331	1.6	142	.3	30	.1	32	.1
Negro	4	.1	19	.1	44	.1	165	.1	224	.1
Others	205	2.6	109	.6	653	1.5	10,539	7.6	1,385	.8
Totals	7,985	100	20,238	100	42,340	100	136,035	100	163,000	100

Table II-3

Birthplace of Winnipeg's Foreign-Born Population, 1881-1916

	1881		1891		1901		1911		1916	
Birthplace	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
England & Wales	879	11.0	4,436	17.4	5,299	12.5	24,260	17.8	27,854	17.1
Scotland	453	5.7	1,563	6.1	1,671	3.9	10,949	8.1	13,182	8.1
Ireland	359	4.5	1,225	4.8	1,218	2.9	4,655	3.4	5,584	3.4
Other British	6	.1	19	.1	115	.3	308	.2	641	.4
Total British	1,697	21.3	7,243	28.4	8,303	19.6	40,172	29.5	47,261	29.0
United States	365	4.6	877	3.3	1,405	3.3	5,798	4.3	6,608	4.2
Scandinavia & Iceland	32	.4	1,193	4.7	2,199	5.2	3,669	2.7	3,137	1.9
Germany	37	.5	399	1.3	699	1.7	1,866	1.3	713	.3
Austria-Hungary	-	-	-	-	1,343	3.2	9,449	6.9	4,788	2.9
Russia & Poland	6	.1	500	1.9	1,398	3.3	8,577	6.3	11,470	7.2
Galicia & Bukowina	-	-	-	-	-	-	647	.5	6,891	4.3
France	18	.2	40	.2	87	.2	323	.2	293	.2
Belgium	-	-	-	-	50	.1	155	.1	181	.1
Italy	10	.1	13	.1	99	.2	517	.4	704	.3
Asia	-	-	16	.1	164	.4	757	.6	780	.3
Others	433	5.4	705	2.7	424	.6	4,138	3.1	1,685	1.1
Total Foreign-Born	2,598	32.5	10,926	42.7	15,989	37.8	76,068	55.9	84,511	51.8
Total Population	7,985	100	25,639	100	42,340	100	136,035	100	163,000	100

Table II-4

Religious Affiliations of Winnipeg's Population, 1881-1916

Religious Denomination	1881		1891		1901		1911		1916	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Anglican	2,373	29.7	6,854	26.7	10,175	24.0	31,338	23.0	39,391	24.3
Baptist	349	4.4	1,046	4.2	2,055	4.9	5,062	3.7	4,766	2.9
Congregationalist	111	1.4	1,050	4.2	1,300	3.1	2,086	1.5	2,110	1.3
Methodist	1,380	17.3	4,310	16.8	6,741	15.9	15,387	11.3	17,488	10.6
Presbyterian	2,365	29.6	5,952	23.2	10,172	24.0	30,367	22.3	38,905	24.0
Lutheran	292	3.7	2,291	8.9	4,253	10.1	11,151	8.2	10,370	6.6
Protestant	-	-	15	.1	117	.3	3,158	2.3	1,852	1.2
Roman Catholic	1,020	12.7	2,470	9.6	5,143	12.1	19,729	14.5	24,013	14.1
Greek Church	-	-	-	-	230	.5	3,411	2.5	6,254	3.9
Jewish	21	.3	645	2.5	1,145	2.7	8,934	6.6	13,443	8.4
Salvation Army	-	-	99	.3	196	.5	500	.4	648	.4
Non-Christian	-	-	-	-	-	-	152	.1	235	.1
No religion	-	-	-	-	6	.1	1,163	.9	386	.2
Various sects	15	.2	234	1.0	524	1.2	1,883	1.4	2,589	1.6
Unspecified	59	.7	673	2.6	283	.7	1,714	1.3	540	.3
Totals	7,985	100	25,639	100	42,240	100	136,035	100	163,000	100

It is apparent from these tables that while the non-English, non-Protestant group was not large in relation to the total population prior to 1900, there was a considerable increase after 1900. However, whether the numbers were small or large the civic leaders in Winnipeg, whose rural village past was one of English-Protestant homogeneity, were sensitized to social diversity by their encounter with what amounted to a dual society in the city. This dual society was made up of French Roman Catholics and English Protestants who each had a right to operate their own schools. This society was based on the Manitoba Act of 1870 which created the Province of Manitoba and recognized both French and English as official languages and the rights of denominational schools. English Protestant immigration quickly overwhelmed the French Catholics. The French came to be regarded as foreigners,[39] and their schools as a divisive force in society. A campaign was fought to abolish both the official use of French and denominational schools in Manitoba. This campaign culminated in 1890 with the abolition of the official use of the French language and the introduction of one public school system. From this point onward the civic leaders' emphasis was on one people, one language and one system of public schools.

With such an emphasis on a unified and harmonious society the civic leaders' sensitivity to diversity was heightened by the tendency of immigrants in the city to concentrate in the "north end", wards five and six. George Chipman, in writing on "Winnipeg the Melting Pot," has stated:

> The main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, passing through Winnipeg, is generally accepted as a division, the foreign section being to the north. The "north end" has become a

> significant definition in the city. Not all the "north-enders" are foreign, but the majority converse in other than Anglo-Saxon speech. 40

The extent to which the immigrant population gravitated to the "north end" and created a division in the city, can be ascertained from statistics tabulated by Artibise in Winnipeg: a Social History and shown here in Tables II-5, II-6, II-7. These tables indicate that by 1916 there were 30,000 Slavs and Jewish people living in the "north end" at a time when there were 120,186 British people in the city.

Table II-5

Specified Ethnic Groups in Winnipeg's North End, 1886-1916

	1886			1901			1916		
Ethnic group	No.	% of total group pop'n	% of dis-trict pop'n	No.	% of total group pop'n	% of dis-trict pop'n	No.	% of total group pop'n	% of dis-trict pop'n
British	5,965	35.5	80.8	1,023	32.6	64.3	23,624	19.6	38.9
Slavic	240	82.0	3.2	1,422	80.4	9.8	18,280	83.3	30.2
Jewish	3	4.9	-	832	88.5	6.5	11,746	86.7	19.4
Scandinavian	579	42.9	7.9	10,174	25.1	5.3	3,864	66.6	6.4
German	242	44.4	3.2	1,360	59.6	9.3	1,411	22.1	2.3
Others	353	29.5	4.9	771	29.9	4.8	1,691	20.2	2.8

Table II-6

Specified Ethnic Groups in Winnipeg's Central Core, 1886-1916

		1886			1901			1916	
Ethnic group	No.	% of total group pop'n	% of district pop'n	No.	% of total group pop'n	% of district pop'n	No.	% of total group pop'n	% of district pop'n
British	10,109	60.2	85.6	14,814	47.4	78.5	54,538	45.4	81.3
Slavic	53	18.0	.5	280	15.8	1.5	2,448	11.2	3.6
Jewish	58	95.1	.5	125	10.8	.6	1,191	8.8	1.8
Scandinavian	648	48.0	5.5	1,446	43.5	7.7	1,315	22.9	2.0
German	282	51.8	2.4	766	33.5	4.1	3,924	61.4	5.9
Others	643	53.9	5.5	1,426	55.3	7.6	3,622	43.2	5.4

Table II-7

Specified Ethnic Groups in West and South Winnipeg, 1886-1916

		1886			1901			1916	
Ethnic group	No.	% of total group pop'n	% of district pop'n	No.	% of total group pop'n	% of district pop'n	No.	% of total group pop'n	% of district pop'n
British	721	4.3	67.8	6,242	20.4	79.0	42,024	35.0	86.5
Slavic	-	-	-	69	3.8	.9	1,213	5.5	2.5
Jewish	-	-	-	8	.7	.1	618	4.5	1.3
Scandinavian	123	9.1	11.6	1,044	31.4	13.2	593	10.2	1.2
German	21	3.8	2.0	157	6.9	2.0	1,056	16.5	2.2
Others	198	16.6	18.6	381	14.8	4.8	3,072	36.6	6.3

The existence of sensitivity to diversity that was prevalent among civic leaders in Winnipeg was reflected in the attitudes they displayed toward various immigrant groups. Among the earliest immigrants to arrive in the city were 285 Icelanders of whom fifty remained in the city to form the nucleus of a settlement.[42] They were joined by other immigrants from Norway, Sweden and Denmark until by 1891 the Icelandic Scandinavian group made up 5% of the foreign born population of the city. This group, though non-English, were Protestants and were believed to share similar political, economic and social views that were similar to those of the civic leadership. They were therefore heartily welcomed in Winnipeg.[43]

Another significant immigrant group were the Germans. They came from Germany, Russia, Switzerland and Austro-Hungary until by 1912 there were "from 12,000 to 14,000 Germans in Winnipeg."[44] While many Scandinavians and Germans lived in the north end,[45] which became known as the "foreign quarter,"[46] they did not tend to live in a ghetto. Artibise has indicated they dispersed throughout the city and adapted to their new land "without benefit or hindrance of a neighborhood crowded with their fellow countrymen." He has further suggested that Germans and Scandinavians had greater "cultural affinities" with the British than other immigrant groups and were in possession of financial resources and work skills which enabled them to advance their economic status.[47] The Manitoba Free Press indicates that civic leaders referred to them as "much to be desired inhabitants of the city." It was stated:

> The Germans like the Scandinavians . . . are of the same racial type and original stock as ourselves and have therefore kindred habits and institutions and similar ideals and moral standards.48

In addition to the Scandinavians and Germans a significant number of Jewish immigrants made their way to Winnipeg. The Coblentz brothers arrived in the city in 1878. They were the first Jewish settlers to make Winnipeg their home. Others followed the Coblentz brothers and among them were a large number who left Russia after the massacre of 1882.[49] At first many of these tried farming but later gave it up and a large number of them settled in Winnipeg's north end.[50] By the turn of the century there were 1,000 Jews in Winnipeg and for the next fifteen years about 1,000 Jews a year came to the city and settled in the ghetto[51] where 80% of the Jews made their home.[52]

Jewish immigrants unlike the Icelanders and Germans were not as readily received by the civic leaders. The Jews came to the city with little or no financial resource. They were handicapped by a foreign language and a foreign culture and were dependent on others for their immediate support.[53] Herstein has indicated that they "were poor and suffered privation while they were striking their roots in the new land."[54] Artibise has made the observation that they lived in deplorable conditions and did not fit the pattern acceptable to the civic leaders in the city.[55] They transplanted their tradition of "religion, Zionism, socialism and education," into the urban environment of Winnipeg.[56] As they became established they erected their synagogues and developed educational, fraternal, cultural, political, philanthropic and sports organizations. In addition to this they established their own Yiddish newspaper.[57] They were, according to

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Artibise, part of an invasion by a disfavored ethnic group.[58]

In these great waves of immigration there was also a large group of Slavic people who came to the city. Some 12,000 arrived in Winnipeg in November 1898.[59] While not all of these remained in the city, the Slavs did form a growing foreign speaking immigrant group. When the first large group arrived in 1898 they were referred to in the city census as Ruthenians, Moldavians, Bukovinians, Serbians, Slovakians and Galicians. They were later referred to as simply Ukrainians, Russians or Poles. The civic leaders regarded them simply as "foreigners" and when the occasion arose when they needed to be recognized as New Canadians the generic term Galician was applied to them.[60] The civic leaders' general perception of these immigrants can be ascertained from the views of J. S. Woodsworth whom Marilyn Barber has indicated was typical of the "actively involved and well-read English speaking Protestant Canadian of 1909."[61] G. N. Emery has summarized many of Woodsworth's beliefs concerning the immigrants.

> The immigrants from southern Europe were culturally and religiously inferior to the native Canadian and their "conditions of living and standards of morality were not such as to qualify them for becoming good Canadian citizens without a good deal of educating and refining." The Europeans were the victims of a decadent, medieval environment in which ageless poverty, ethnic hatreds and ignorance prevented the attainment of the North American level of civilization. Authoritarian old world churches accompanied immigrants and sought to perpetuate their ignorance in order to exploit them. 62

George Chipman, writing on the Galician immigrants in Winnipeg, expressed the belief that they were the product of "a civilization that is a thousand years behind the Canadian."[63] This was perceived to be evident in the homes of these immigrants which were often reported to be overcrowded and marked by deplorable moral conditions. The Manitoba

Free Press reported on an investigation carried out in north Winnipeg in 1909 which revealed twelve men occupying one small room. What the investigators found to be "incredible" was that "very often among the dozen or so occupants of a single room during the sleeping hours women and young girls will be found."[64] Rev. S. P. Rose, pastor of Broadway Methodist Church, visited a home and reported what he found:

> . . . a woman of twenty-eight, by no means repulsive, and not in appearance bad. She is morally sound asleep. She is separated from her husband, and has two children, infants, which are not his. Three beds, one table, one bench, two chairs, a stove, which draws badly, a few dishes, never too clean, constitute the furniture. A barrel with a generous supply of liquor, is prominently in evidence. Smoke fills the house all the time. Eight boarders, all men, share this miserable accomodation with this woman and her two sickly children. Nine adults, three beds and two rooms. 65

It was after viewing such homes as these that J. S. Woodsworth went on public record as deploring the lack of basic domestic skills among parents. In a news report he was quoted as saying:

> I have known children to go to school when they have been too weak to do the schooling of the kindergarten. They might have had food at home but their parents have not known how to administer it. 66

Even if the parents did have some rudimentary knowledge of how to prepare food, the civic leadership in the city perceived that it would be prepared under unsanitary conditions. The "foreigners" were said to:

> As a rule . . . live in dens of filth which only by the grace of providence fail to cause the entire city to be stricken with disease. . . . Plumbing ordinances are disregarded in a manner that would soon remove English speaking races from the face of the earth. Spring housecleaning is unknown. . . . Baths are practically unknown in the tenement districts. . . . Sinks are allowed to choke with all manner of filth . . . closets become not only useless, but are a positive menace because of their improper use. But even worse than this there are houses in

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> which neither sinks or closets exist. . . . Another feature of the sanitary conditions of the slums is [that] all manner of filthy refuse [is disposed] in the lanes and back yards. 67

W. J. Sisler, a long time educator, who worked among the immigrants of the "north end" indicated:

> They are ignorant of sanitary laws and many live amidst filth which is a menace to their own and public health. 68

The idea that living conditions of "the foreigners" were a menace to public health was widely publicized by the daily press. The Manitoba Free Press gave coverage to a paper prepared by Dr. Halpenny, a city medical officer, in which he promoted the idea that medical inspection was needed in the schools. He stated:

> The presence in towns, but more particularly in Winnipeg, of large numbers of foreigners whose standards of living [are] low, [constitutes] a menace to the entire community and [makes] a careful supervision of so ready a means of contagion and infection as the public school of greatest importance. 69

Halpenny's concern was expressed at a time when typhoid fever, diptheria, measles, mumps, whooping cough, chicken pox, small pox and tuberculosis ravaged many lives.[70] Many children did not survive[71] and infants, who were particularly susceptible to gastrointestinal disease, through improper feeding and contaminated milk, had an increasingly high death rate between 1909 and 1912. The measure of increase in the infant death rate in this three year period when foreign immigration had reached its highest proportions is shown in table II-8 which contains statistics on Winnipeg's infant mortality rate tabulated by Artibise in Winnipeg: A Social History.

Table II-8

Winnipeg's Infant Mortality Rate per 1,000 Births, 1908-1914

Year	Births	Deaths	Rate
1908	3,738	535	143.1
1909	3,898	513	131.6
1910	3,890	628	161.4
1911	4,614	762	165.1
1912	5,041	1,006	199.5
1913	5,577	947	169.8
1914	5,789	729	125.9

[72]

But there were other problems that were associated with immigrant homes, not the least of which was unemployment. The foreign worker was, for the most part, unskilled and was hard hit by seasonal unemployment. When an investigation was made of 662 families in the Point Douglas area the investigators found 575 lodgers and of these 432 were unemployed.[73] In a letter to the Manitoba Free Press an interested citizen wrote:

> In visiting some poor families we came across utter poverty where the heads of families could not obtain work. It is sad enough to see young men in need, but it is especially painful to see cases of families and small children who are struggling with direst need. . . . [These families] have to live and find food. The other day when a cord of wood was brought to [our place] a foreign man with a saw had been following the teamster of the wood yard from 8 o'clock in the morning hoping to get somewhere (sic) a job in sawing. We got the wood at 5 o'clock. . . . He had followed the driver of the wood yard all day without finding any job. Such cases are very frequent and one meets many a poor man walking all day in the cold with his saw and returning home without any earnings. 74

If the homes of many immigrants were perceived to be distinguished by immorality, inadequate domestic knowledge, lack of sanitation and poverty they were also believed to be marked by lawless attitudes. J. S. Woodsworth commented, "Immigrants are fairly prominent in the police court, more than their numbers would warrant."[75] He recorded "police returns" in 1907 and published them in his book Strangers Within Our Gates. These "police returns are shown in Table II-9.

Table II-9

Canadian	1,541	Welsh	17
English	992	Italians	15
Scotch	693	Assyrians	14
Irish	452	Austrians	19
Galician	379	Chinese	10
American	304	Indians	6
German	140	Bohemians	7
Swedes	128	Ruthenians	8
Icelanders	72	Australians	6
French	58	Roumanians	4
Hebrews	95	Bukowinians	5
Negroes	107	Finlanders	5
Poles	76	Hollanders	5
Halfbreeds	86	Mexicans	4
Russians	37	Swiss	2
Norwegians	31	Greeks	6
Hungarians	25	Belgians	13
Danes	21		

[76]

Chipman expressed the belief that the police courts formed a strong indictment against foreign people, especially the Galicians.[77] The Manitoba Free Press frequently published reports of the "lawless" behavior of foreigners ranging from the relatively minor offence of ignoring municipal bylaws[78] to more serious offences for which they were brought before the assize court. The more serious offences were associated, in the minds of leading citizens, with celebrations such as weddings. A judge presiding over an assize court remarked that Galician weddings were often a calamity in which a carousal often ended in a fight and sometimes ended in murder.[79] The leading citizens in Winnipeg formed their opinions of the immigrants' respect for law and order from accounts like the following, which according to Chipman, appeared in "a Winnipeg daily newspaper."

> It was the aftermath of the Galician celebration of yesterday. There were men with faces scratched and gashed men with parts of their noses missing, men with chunks chewed out of their ears, men and women with bandages of all sorts and colors. The story told by police who were on duty last night was equally lurid. The battles raged all over the foreign settlement, and in the later stages it was simply a case of gathering up the victims and stacking them where they would not suffer from exposure. There were drunken and battered men in sheds, on sidewalks and in ditches. A woman threw a beer keg through a door, smashing it from its hinges. A man stole a keg, was seen getting away with it and was hammered over the head with a stick of wood till he joined the "dead ones." The police had no time to make arrests, for they could not be spared from the difficult task of keeping the gang of sots from killing each other. The whole affair was bestial in the extreme. Gangs of foreigners are besieging the (police) station today wanting to lay information against others who beat them up during the carousel. 80

Reports such as these could be expected to make a deep impression on the readers of the daily press, especially when such noted and respected leaders like W. J. Sisler, who worked as an educator among Winnipeg immigrants, was quoted as saying "lying and deceit [among immigrants] are almost universal and a sense of honor is practically unknown."[81] It is not surprising that in this context Rev J. S. Woodsworth quoted the following from a United States writer.

> We might endure the criminality of the adult immigrants with more composure, if we had any assurance that their children would be as orderly as the native born. But we find just the opposite to be the fact: the children of immigrants are, therefore, twice as dangerous as the immigrants themselves. 82

These "dangerous children" contributed to what was perceived to be an increase in the rate of juvenile crime in the city. In 1906 it was reported that "expert evidence" had shown juvenile crime to be on the increase in Winnipeg. Mr. T. Mayne Daly, a city magistrate, spoke in what were called "the strongest terms" when he referred to "the growing tendency to crime among the youths of the city."[83] Children were found playing in the streets in an environment that encouraged "drunkenness, bad language, disobedience and general lawlessness."[84] Those who were not found playing in the streets had been put to work by their parents in order to supplement the father's low wages. In many cases when these children made their money they felt they had a right to spend it as they saw fit. They spent their money at "the moving picture show, the dance hall, the pool room and the bar room."[85] These places were regarded by many in the city as most undesirable for young people and alarm was expressed over the prevalence of vice among the children. What was even more alarming was that the courts, as they were then constituted, could not deal with the problem.[86]

The Manitoba Free Press, which frequently made reference to the "immigrant problem," sought to express the general attitude of the leading citizens toward a considerable number of immigrants.

> Their domestic habits do not fully accord with Canadian domestic habits, their religion is different from Methodism, Presbyterianism, Anglicanism or Roman Catholicism or any other religion of Canada and their tongue is not understood. In their struggle to get a foothold they have developed conditions that do not accord with the ideals of domestic life and citizenship held as essential by Canadians generally. They crowd together and thus place the city in a perilous situation in case of an epidemic. In too many cases their domestic habits are such as to imperil the moral and sanitary welfare of the city. 87

The extent to which conditions such as these prevailed in immigrant homes meant that to that extent the home could not be depended upon to fulfill its old social function of preparing children for society. But it was not only the home that was perceived to be weakened by such immigration. The Protestant churches were also viewed as having weakened to the extent that they could no longer appeal to almost everyone in the community. Frank Dojacek, an Austrian Protestant working with the Methodists in Winnipeg indicated:

> Europeans [are] usually unreceptive to evangelical Protestantism even when it [is] offered to them in their own language. . . . I can speak to the people but they do not like if I refer to their personal need of salvation [and say] I have and keep my own religion. 88

The Protestant churches' relative strength over a period of twenty years between 1891 and 1911 declined from 84% of the population claiming religious affiliation in 1891 to 72.3% in 1911.[89] While the percentage loss may not seem to be too great, it was a reversal of that which had occurred prior to 1890. W. A. McIntyre, principal of the Normal School stated in 1908:

> The church has had an experience somewhat similar to that of the home. It has keenly felt the social problem. . . . No one can predict the avenues of service in which the Church activity of the future will be directed. 90

In addition to the effect that immigration was perceived to have on the home and the church the civic leaders were concerned over the apparent inability of the school to secure the enrollment of all the children in the community and so exercise an influence over them. There was a further concern over the schools' perceived inability to maintain a high level of attendance among those who were enrolled. They estimated that in 1909 the north end wards had 20,000 children of whom only 7,000 were attending school.[91] The enrollment and attendance records of the north end Aberdeen School were examined and it was found, at least for this school, that even for those who attended school there was much absenteeism. In 1908 there were 1,195 enrolled with an average attendance of 710.13 or 59% of enrollment. In 1909 the average attendance stood at 64% of enrollment.[92]

The attitude that prevailed among the influential citizens of Winnipeg was that illiterate immigrants did not place a high value on schooling. It was known that many of the immigrants came from countries where the illiteracy rate was high, ranging from 23% in Austria to 89% in Roumania.[93] It was also known that the majority of immigrant workers who came to Canada between 1896 and 1914 were of peasant background[94] and would therefore have little or no education. In order to illustrate the measure of illiteracy among immigrants a speaker at the Manitoba Educational Convention, in 1907, referred to a number of Galician workers who when asked to identify the king, volunteered the information that he was a Mr. Reid, section foreman for Canadian National Railways.[95] Such people as these were believed to have little interest in schooling and this belief was reflected by the immigrants themselves. When a Polish Educational Committee was formed in 1910 a spokesman for the committee indicated:

> We came from countries where the intellectual level of the masses is much lower than in Canada . . . here in Canada we take advantage of the opportunity to improve our lives materially, fully ignoring the opportunities to improve our educational . . . life. 96

Daniel McIntyre, Superintendent of Winnipeg schools indicated earlier in 1905:

> There is a rapidly increasing class of whom many are indifferent in regard to education of their children and large numbers of boys and girls are being allowed to grow up without sufficient school training to put them in the way of becoming intelligent citizens. 97

In addition to the perceived failure of the immigrants to value schooling because of their illiteracy there was the very real economic pressures that confronted immigrants attempting to get established in a new land. Very often one of the main considerations was getting their children a job. J. W. Chafe gives the account of immigrant John Krachuk who arrived in Winnipeg from Galicia in 1905. He worked for two years to save money to bring his wife and five children to Winnipeg. He had two school aged sons, Mike aged 12, and Joe aged 14, and his main interest was not that his boys attend school but that they get jobs.[98]

In many cases those who attended school had to face the difficulty of coping with a new language. They also had to cope with a curriculum in which such subjects as English literature not only challenged the learner, but as Sybil Shack, a Winnipeg educator, pointed out, more frequently utterly defeated the pupil.[99] Many simply dropped out of school.[100]

There were also some who avoided the public schools by sending their children to private schools. In 1900 there were 729 children in the Roman Catholic separate schools in the city. During the next twelve years five new elementary separate schools were built and there were 2,029 in the schools. Among these new schools was one for the French, one for the Germans, one for the Poles and one for the Ruthenians. The problem that these schools created was expressed in the Manitoba Free Press in 1908.

> From our public school among the foreign element of the city of Winnipeg children are being continually taken out for three months at a time and often longer, nay sometimes altogether, to be sent to Russian, Polish, or German schools, as the case may be, to learn the foreign rituals and undo as much as possible our training for Canadian citizenship. 101

The school was perceived to be weakened by the problems of immigration. It could only do its job if children were in attendance and there were many who were either untouched by the public schools or whose exposure was so sporadic and minimal that it was regarded as of little value.

Leadership

The influential citizens who were confronted with these urban problems in Winnipeg, and perceived their institutions to be weakened, were active in both politics and education. They belonged to a British majority culture group, who for the most part, came from areas in rural Ontario. They came to pursue business interests and in pursuit of those interests established a metropolis and became its natural leaders. J. R. Bone, a contemporary writer of the period, has described the westward movement of the British culture group as "the coming of the sturdy stock of old Ontario who took leading roles in politics and education and demonstrated striking progress."[102] The number and relative percentage of the Ontario born in Winnipeg between 1881 and 1915 is detailed by Artibise in Winnipeg: A Social History and shown here in table II-10.

Table II-10

Birthplace of Winnipeg's Native-Born Population, 1881-1916

	1881		1891		1901		1911		1916	
Birthplace	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Prince Ed. Island	42	.5	83	.3	139	.3	471	.4	463	.3
Nova Scotia	206	2.6	371	1.4	446	1.1	1,505	1.1	1,587	1.0
New Brunswick	126	1.3	279	1.1	303	.7	799	.6	847	.5
Quebec	567	7.1	1,146	4.4	1,365	3.2	2,799	2.1	2,758	1.7
Ontario	3,395	42.5	7,242	28.3	10,419	24.6	20,564	15.1	21,062	12.9
MANITOBA	1,032	12.9	5,510	21.5	13,322	31.5	31,849	23.4	49,648	30.5
Saskatchewan	-	-	-	-	-	-	587	.4	1,083	.7
Alberta	-	-	-	-	-	-	221	.2	279	.1
British Columbia	8	.1	25	.1	32	.1	175	.1	307	.2
Yukon and Territories	31	.4	57	.2	325	.8	52	.1	16	.1
Not stated	-	-	-	-	-	-	945	.7	439	.2
Total Canadian-born	5,387	67.5	14,713	57.3	26,351	62.2	59,967	44.1	78,489	48.2
Total Population	7,985	100	25,639	100	42,340	100	136,035	100	163,000	100

As part of the majority group in the city, these Ontario born leaders possessed considerable power. As early as 1881 those who were of British origin accounted for 86.6% of the city's total population. Artibise in Winnipeg: A Social History has calculated the percentage distribution of Winnipeg's population by ethnic origin. Figure II-1 shows the distribution and indicates the dominant position of the British in the city.

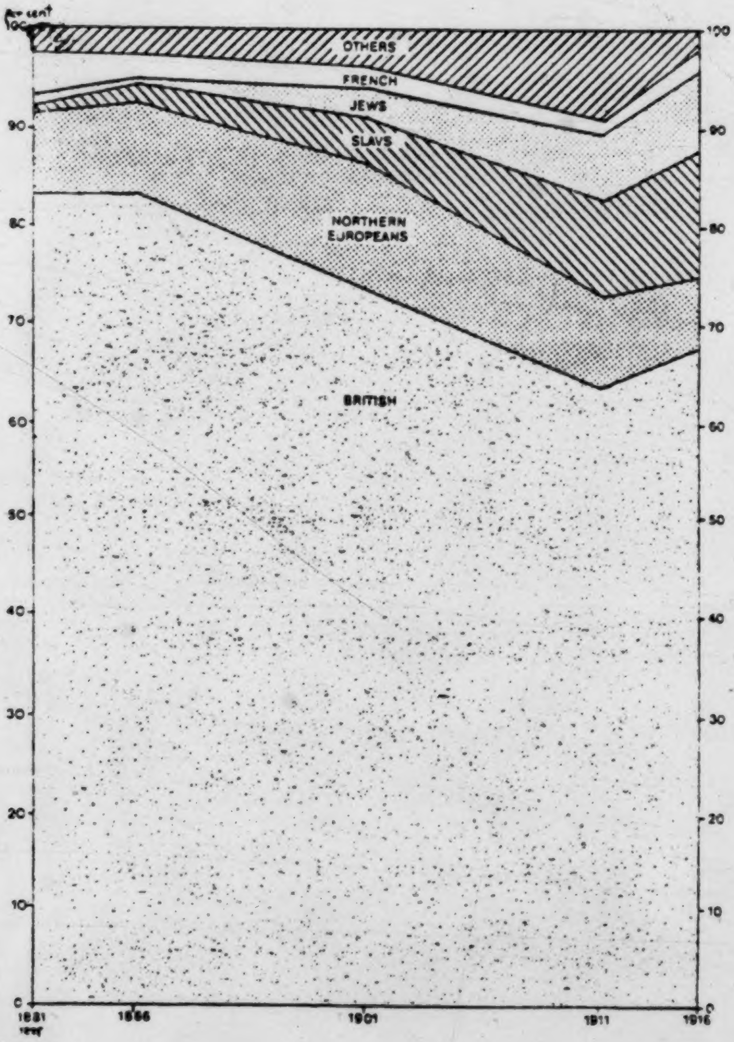

Figure II-1. Percentage Distribution of Winnipeg's Population by Ethnic Origin, 1881-1916 104

This early majority position was important in the early years of the city's development. Research has indicated that the prestige and influence of a culture group in a community of culturally diverse groups appears to be related to the order of arrival in relation to other cultural groups.[105] Thus the early influx of immigrants into Manitoba in the 1870s and 1880s produced, generally speaking, a province reborn in the image of British Protestant Ontario.[106]

These early leaders gained political control of the city through a restricted franchise. Beginning at the incorporation of Winnipeg in 1871 and continuing through the following decades all voters had to meet the following qualifications.

> Freeholders were required to be rated in the city's assessment roll for at least $100, while leaseholders or tenants of real property required a rating of $200. The other three stipulations (male, over twenty-one years and British citizenship) were the same at all three levels. 107

Artibise has stated:

> Although this property qualification might not seem too high by today's standards it did disenfranchise thousands of Winnipeggers. In 1906, for example, when the population was over 100,000 there were only 7,784 registered voters. Clearly the other 92,216 were not all females, under twenty-one and of non-British citizenship. An interesting . . . measure was . . . introduced in 1895 that gave females the right to vote in municipal elections. But for the affluent merchant or manufacturer, with property valued at several thousands of dollars, it now meant that both he and his wife could vote. 108

Values

With such overwhelming control of the city it is important to examine the belief system of these leaders in order to understand their response to the problems of the city. They were, first of all, Protestants. As early as 1881 the percentage of the city's population belonging to traditionally Protestant religious groups (Anglican, Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, Congregational) was 82.4%. This percentage gradually dropped as foreign immigration increased until by 1916 the Protestant percentage of the population was 63.1%.[109] Nevertheless this was still a religious majority in a city of diverse religious groups.

The Protestants perceived Protestant religion to be superior to all non-Protestant religions. The Roman Catholics and their church were downgraded in public statements made in the city. Bishop Machray, in an address before the Anglican Synod in 1899, indicated that he saw Roman Catholics as "ignorant" and productive of "a large proportion of criminals."[110] In 1890 a politician openly declared that "the policy of [the Roman Catholic Church] was completely opposed to the progress and enlightenment of the community."[111] In 1909 Archdeacon Fortin delivered what was described in the local press as "a striking sermon." It was heard "by a large number of citizens and several members of the local House." In this sermon Fortin made reference to Roman Catholicism and its "foreign" views and doctrines. He indicated that the Roman Catholic Church was "a church which we profess and believe to be false and unscriptural."[112] Marilyn Barber has indicated that in Methodist literature Protestantism was identified with British virtues such as initiative, industry, freedom and democracy. On the other hand Catholicism was identified with superstition, ignorance and autocracy. Methodists were interested in maintaining Protestant values and were determined to limit the sphere of the influence of the Catholic church. They were also prepared to meet the challenge of other non-Protestant religious groups like the Greek Catholics, Greek Orthodox and Jewish groups.[113]

Protestant religion as "a higher religion" was to be vigorously promoted among non-Protestant immigrants. J. S. Woodsworth, who as indicated earlier, has been regarded as a typical well-read English speaking Protestant[114] expressed his desire to adjust immigrants to the "higher religion." He spoke of "authoritarian old world churches" that kept immigrants in ignorance and he believed that the influence of such churches would gradually weaken as immigrants were exposed to Protestantism and other new world influences. On one occasion he reminded Methodist young people that:

> As Christians we owe [the immigrants] all that has purified and elevated and enriched our lives. We owe it to them to convince them that religion is not mere ecclesiasticism, nor faith superstition, nor worship ritualism. 115

Another Protestant religious leader declared: "We are used to praying for an open door to foreign missions. Now we have an open door right here beside us."[116]

This "open door" was the focus of attention at a large gathering of the Brotherhood of St. Andrews, held in Winnipeg in 1907. This Anglican meeting was informed that if the "finer elements" in life were to be maintained it was necessary to maintain "the fresh springs of the Rock from which they flowed." In maintaining those "fresh springs" in Winnipeg the assembled crowd was told they "had . . . an opportunity that had not been granted to any body of men in the history of Christianity."[117]

The determination of Protestants in the city to see that Protestantism remained dominant was clearly evident. There was a revealing editorial in the Manitoba Free Press in 1909 that indicated

Protestant aims and objectives.

> This is a country whose foremost need is industrious, thrifty, intelligent settlers . . . the most desirable settlers [come from] the United States . . . [and] Great Britain [which are] overwhelmingly Protestant. It is in these two overwhelmingly Protestant countries that the Dominion Government's immigration work is carried on and it is from these two overwhelmingly Protestant countries that the overwhelming proportion of new settlers in the country came . . . so that the result will be to make this country constantly more Protestant. 118

For the leading citizens in Winnipeg, Protestantism was to be the one religion in the city. Inseparably related to this was their commitment to keep the city British or "Anglo-Saxon" and thus have one loyalty in the midst of a diverse people. It was a loyalty in which leading citizens perceived no difference between imperial loyalty and Canadian nationalism. In 1890 the Manitoba Free Press undertook to express the "present feelings" in Winnipeg regarding Canada and the Empire. These "feelings" were that Canada must show devotion to queen and country and engage her military forces in the battles of the Empire. This involvement with Britain was not regarded in any way as "antagonistic to our national interests." Rev. Dr. George Bryce, a prominent spokesman for the British majority group, indicated in 1898 "the same spirit which animates the Canadian nationalist animates the lover of the Empire" and there has grown up "coincident with the rising Canadianism . . . an ever strengthening love for the Empire."[119] Fred Ney, a noted social leader in Winnipeg stated:

> Love of country means empire to every true Briton who will refuse to acknowledge that distance divides, but who rather divines that the seas bind us all in all. 120

Ney made no distinction between Canadian nationality and British loyalty. A good Canadian was a loyal Britisher whose birthright was to be "a British subject and citizen of Canada."[121]

A united Canada was conceived of in terms of the devotion of the whole Canadian people to the British crown and Empire. Bryce indicated:

> Confederation gave Canada the conception, or at least the opportunity of conceiving the thought, "This is my own, my native land."
> This was possible alike to the grandchildren of the U. E. Loyalists, to the descendants of British settlers, to the French-Canadians, and to the offspring of those of alien birth--and all in the same measure. "We are all," they could say, "on an equal footing, this is our native heath!" But in this, the constitution freely consented to by all of us was British, given us by the British Parliament, carried out under British auspices. The bonds of affection binding us to Britain then began to thicken and strengthen. An intelligent, considerate, deep-seated spirit of loyalty increased within us. . . . So much had our sentiment of loyalty strengthened, almost without our realizing it, that when the South African war, which was a battle for equal rights, broke out, Canada of her own free will arose and said, "Here are our young men of U. E. L., British, French-Canadian, German and American origin--all Canadians--now ready to fight for the great queen and her Empire. That was a gladdening sight. 122

This complete identification with Britain was given further expression by J. H. Mulvey, a long time Winnipeg teacher and president of the Manitoba Educational Association in 1915. Mulvey stated:

> Canada . . . although we are a self governing colony, we are part of the British Empire, our thoughts, our sentiments, our speech, the calls of kinship makes us one in reality with the other sons of Britain. And their cause is our cause, their foe is our foe, their war is our war and their glory our glory . . . we are . . . animated by one common love for the dear old flag that represents justice and mercy and freedom for all mankind. 123

This devotion to Britain gained some impetus in the city of Winnipeg from a fear of the great neighbor to the south, the United States. It was feared that Canadian identity could be lost and the larger power would swallow up the smaller Canadian nation. Bryce was appalled at Goldwin Smith's remarks indicating that Canada could never develop a unity of feeling or action and that the country's "manifest destiny" was to be absorbed into the United States. He regarded Smith as one who alienated himself from the national heart.[124] The loyal Britisher was not one who desired to be linked to the United States. He was best exemplified by those early settlers who laid the foundation of Winnipeg. They passed "in their thousands" through the United States, which Bryce described as a "foreign country," resisting all inducements to remain by the way. They kept their eye on "the north star" and journeyed to Winnipeg to make it a city "with more real British sentiment than the saintly city of Toronto." Everything was British in Winnipeg "except a troublesome little knot of Americans . . . and even they . . . emphasized everything British as good."[125]

There was little that the leading citizens in Winnipeg found attractive in the United States. Bryce indicated:

> During the half century which has witnessed the uprise of Canada, we have seen in the neighboring republic a terrific fratricidal war, out of which grew an era of unexampled corruption: a subsequent race strife between black and white marked by streams of blood: a maladministration of justice unknown under the British flag: and a struggle between labor and capital even now causing great anxiety. We sympathize with our neighbors. Yet we cannot but say, "Thank God that we are subjects of the British Crown." 126

While viewing the social turmoil in the United States those who gloried in being British subjects were confronted with an increasing measure of social turmoil in their own city as non-British immigration increased. This turmoil was faced in a spirit of optimism for at the turn of the century the predominant mood in the city was that the immigrants could be assimilated. An editorial in the Manitoba Free Press stated:

> The Anglo-Saxon . . . has never yet failed to absorb all elements that came within its influence and there is not the least danger that it ever will. . . . Canada is Anglo-Saxon and will remain Anglo-Saxon. Foreigners may come in their thousands and, they too, if not in the first then in the second generation will also be Anglo-Saxon. 127

In 1906 there were still those who confidently expressed the idea that the "Anglo-Saxon race" was powerful enough to assimilate all foreigners. It could "defy the fiercest onslaught of fortune and the most dire vicissitudes of time."[128]

With such assumed Anglo-Saxon assimilative power it was expected that immigrants could soon be brought to conform to the Anglo-Saxon norm. In some cases the suggestion seemed to be that a better race could be realized by the mingling of elements. The Saxon, Slav, Teuton, Celt and Gaul could be made into one people. "The blood strains of great races will mingle in the blood of a race greater than the greatest of them all." 129

Rev. Dr. George Bryce in expressing his view on assimilation seemed to include some elements of a mosaic.

> All civilization as it has been said of legislation must be a compromise. A compromise is not necessarily a disgraceful thing. Mind and body are of different composition, different qualities, different purposes and yet in one human being they are mysteriously interrelated and blended so that they act together, sympathize with one another, rejoice in the same good fortune or lament and suffer in the same misfortune. So a country made up of different elements, composed of different local sections, even having different interests, can be skillfully bound together to make a substantial working unity. And so while our key note of progress in Canada is unity, yet as these parallels show, this does not require an absolute uniformity. A forced unity might destroy and check progress . . . unity with diversity is surely the true watchword for Canada. 130

Others, like educator W. J. Sisler, believed that some foreigners could bring new ideas with them that would enhance Canada's reputation among nations.[131] F. H. Schofield, principal of the Collegiate Institute, believed that many races who are considered "beneath us" in the scale of civilization are actually "above us" in their appreciation of art and beauty. Nevertheless, whatever might be said of the existence of different views on assimilation the distinctions are not significant for what was envisaged was a people with all the characteristics of "the obviously superior Anglo-Saxons."[132] It would appear that Mott has adequately summarized the British ideas on assimilation.

> There was a time in Winnipeg's history when it was accepted as a cultural ideal that each immigrant group should offer what was "best" in its culture to a superior "common stock" Canadian culture. In fact what seems to have been expected was that non-Anglo-Saxon groups would offer to this "common stock" culture components that were considered relatively unimportant by the Anglo-Saxon population. They were expected to offer their quaint folk dances or folk songs, or perhaps their skill in weaving or painting. Meanwhile, the British culture group was expected to contribute the ideological components of the "common stock" culture in the system of government and of justice and prevailing structures--and it was expected that non-Anglo-Saxons would accept them. 133

Professor W. F. Osborne of Wesley College, a noted spokesman for Winnipeg's leading citizens left no doubt as to what he understood assimilation to be. He indicated that it was necessary,

> . . . to strike forward to meet the multitudes of men who are thronging to our shores so that we may powerfully and masterfully, yet withal intelligently and considerately, impose upon them our national manners, our national laws, our national spirit, our national ideals. 134

As the leading citizens, in Winnipeg, were committed to one religion and one loyalty they were also committed to one economic system. Rev. Dr. George Bryce, in giving an address on "The Canadianization of Western Canada," indicated:

> British capitalists for the last generations have paid great attention to Western Canada and have bound the west with golden chains to the motherland. 135

It was the capitalist system that was deeply embedded in the country. It was a system that enabled the influential citizens of Winnipeg to come to the city, establish their business interests and grow wealthy. The British Protestants greatly admired immigrants who could come to the city and do as they had done. A. S. Bardal, an Icelander, was singled out as an example of such an immigrant. He came to the city with twelve dollars and soon owned a well equipped livery stable and "an up-to-date" undertaking establishment.[136] Norwegian contractors who were doing tens of thousands of dollars worth of work and Swedes who had bank accounts were also specially noted.[137] The Germans were also noticed for their diligent work habits and the contribution they made to the city in their employment, from the lowest to the highest levels.[138] Capitalism was an economic system in which it was believed that it was possible to start at the bottom with "rough work" and move upward to more refined work while others came in at the bottom to take the place of those who moved upwards.[139] Canada was the land of opportunity for those who were willing to work.

Work was highly regarded. Rev. J. L. Gordon lauded the working man and made reference to Jesus being a carpenter and the disciples, "who laid the foundations of Christianity" as being fishermen. He declared that none should be ashamed to labor.[140] Archdeacon Fortin declared that those who were afraid to work were cowards and guilty of disgraceful conduct.[141] In the daily press such people were described as "slothful or lazy" and "parasites" who deserve no sympathy.[142] Even in cases where relief was provided care was taken not to encourage "the pauper spirit" and those who were temporarily unemployed and could work were provided with whatever work might be available.[143] Work was regarded as a noble pursuit. In an editorial the Manitoba Free Press indicated:

> There is no more noble figure than the man who hears the call of the world for the necessities of existence, and who hastens to devote his energies and his life in an endeavor to respond. Next to him probably is the man, although he does not hear the call, does his day's work, day after day, at the plow, in the factory, at the throttle of an engine, or in the managerial chair in the office of an industrial or commercial enterprise. 144

Those who failed to do their work day by day or were not good workmen were believed to have a different life. They were seen to have condemned themselves and those who depended on them to a "horrible life of the inefficient, filled with unspeakable irritations and despair."[145]

In the everyday world of work it was readily accepted in Winnipeg that there would be masters and employees, capital and organized labor, and rich and poor. What was regarded as necessary was that all work together "in unity and amity" to establish a great city.[146]

This "unity and amity" were not to be threatened by the greed of monopolies or the oppression of combines. Such monopolies and combines restricted "the field" for the willing worker and made it difficult for him to receive the reward of his labors.[147] The free enterprise system of capital and labor was expected to work for the benefit of both capital and labor.[148] As the pace of industrialization increased it was believed by many in the city that cooperation would make the system function well. Rev. Hugh Pedley, minister of Central Congregational Church expressed the idea in the following manner:

> . . . though St. Paul had used the unity of the members of the body as an example of the unity of the church of Christ, it might with equal propriety be used as an example of the unity and interdependence of society, and especially of the industrial world. For instance the eye might stand for capital and the hand for labor. The eye can see but it cannot achieve with the hand and the hand is comparatively useless without the eye to guide it . . . capital and labor are partners but unlike the usual partnership only one side had access to the books and knew the profits . . . cooperation of knowledge and interest was the only remedy. . . . 149

When Rev. E. Weeks of St. James Congregational Church addressed the differences he perceived to exist between capital and labor he offered a simple solution so that both could work together in harmony.

> The capitalist should be sincere in the distribution of his wealth and the laborer in the performance of his task, and each should have confidence in each. We must not wait for a great reform: reform lies in the realm of the home, in the common life of the individual and in the development of character. 150

The general belief in the city, among the leading citizens, was that the free enterprise system was the best for all concerned. If it did not work as well as it should then it ought to be improved by concerned people so that it would function to the benefit of all whether they were laborers or capitalists.

While there was one religion, one loyalty and one economic system for the influential citizens of Winnipeg there was also one set of social values. These were the social values that characterized the small village of their rural past. Leading citizens looked to the country as the ideal environment and frequently quoted Cowper's saying, "God made the country and man made the town."[151] They believed that the country was a finished work with which subsequent interference [was] inadvisable.[152] It was the place where people lived the natural wholesome life in the midst of calm, clean, harmonious and ordered surroundings. It was the place, according to J. S. Woodsworth, where people "to a large extent" were on one level. They lived together and were of one language, one race, and one religion. The personal bonds of sympathy existed among them for they lived in "simpler social circumstances."[153] These simpler social conditions were emphasized in the Western School Journal in 1908 as reference was made to "fifty years ago [when] we were mainly a rural people." It was said that in those days the man without any special training was king. He could shoe his horse, make his wagons, do carpentry and in some cases make his own shoes.[154] Whatever challenge he faced in coping with life could be successfully met and overcome. The home was of vital importance for there the parent was in control. The husband served as the practical teacher for boys and the mother served to teach the girls. All the important knowledge that enabled one to live in a simple society could be obtained in the home circle.[155] It was a society in which people could be depended upon to freely do the "right" thing and demonstrate a whole host of common virtues.[156] W. A. McIntyre, a prominent British Protestant spokesman, gave an example of the social values that were associated with rural life of the past.

> Some eighty years ago there moved into Western Canada a young farmer of a good old Scottish family. After breaking his land he succeeded in raising a little grain and indeed had forty bushels to the good. This he agreed to sell to a buyer in Georgetown at eighty cents a bushel. On the following day he sent in the wheat with a neighbor, who sold it as his own, the price having advanced to eighty-two cents a bushel. The young farmer felt that he was not entitled to the increase of eighty cents and a few days later drove into Georgetown, about twelve miles distant, to return the money. In the meantime the buyer had departed and the affair closed for the time. Fifty years later the farmer, then about eighty years old, heard that the buyer was visiting friends at Milton about twenty miles away. He had the horse harnessed and was driven the distance so that he might refund the money. 157

McIntyre concluded that the old settlers "were honest to a farthing." In addition to their honesty, one could observe, according to McIntyre, "reverence for God and for authority, economy, industry, faithfulness, family affection and frankness in speech."[158]

In many cases, it was believed, there had been no falling away from such virtues and that many "sincere, honest, open-minded, generous and kind people" could be found. But these virtues were perceived to be threatened in the city where one found poverty and misery, sin and wrong, cases of personal impurity and open profanity. One could even find that in religious matters in the city there was "dissimulation, envy and intolerance." McIntyre longed for what he called "a return of the wholehearted honesty and reverence of the early settlers of the land."[159]

When McIntyre, as a former Ontario resident, called for the preservation of old values that belonged to an idealized rural past he was focusing on a cluster of values that were perceived, in Winnipeg, to have deep roots in both the east and the west. Doug Owram in Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West 1856-1900, has indicated a shift in perspective on Red River's past occurred at the dawn of the 1880s as the old community gave way to the forces of development. The Selkirk settlers were elevated into a regional group of United Empire Loyalists whose "uplifting spirit and high tradition" was perceived to exist to the present to affect newcomers as well as descendants of the original settlers. The past appeared as Eden, an idyllic world in which the early settlers had remained true to their flag and nationality and lived in honest pleasure, friendly camaraderie and good feeling for all people. It was a world in which God-fearing people were distinguished by their contentment, self reliance, morality, uprightness, sacrifice, bravery, purpose and foresight. These values were overlaid and reinforced by the Canadian expansionists so that it could no longer be said that the Canadian sense of mission in the west had its roots solely in the east.[160]

Owram indicates that the settler and the fertile land of the northwest were to be the social and economic strength of the region. The fertile land provided a strong permanent economic base in a region that was expected to be agricultural. It was believed that "the creation of a proper moral order" depended, to a large degree, on the development of a strong and permanent economic order. Since this economic order was based on the fertile land any social strength had to be equally based, along with economic order, on the agricultural workers. The belief in the rural society, and the benefits that could be derived from that society through an agricultural class, was revealed, according to Owram, in the growing ambiguity towards developing towns and cities in the region. On the one hand a city like Winnipeg was a source of pride for it indicated rapid material development but on the other hand it was disqualified as an example of the development of the west for the true life of the west was not to be found there. The ideal man was the "yeoman" or "husbandman" for he would ultimately determine the strength of the nation as a whole.[161]

This strength of the nation was to be defined in terms of the British model of society. Owram indicates the British Empire represented the highest achievement in the development of institutions and "her traditions, her forms and her moral élevation" were unsurpassed in the world.[162] Therefore, to adhere to the British model in the west was to preserve and extend the highest cultural ideals. It was to build a British society with British values in the new world context that would be the most reliable society in terms of social welfare and social stability.[163]

Owram has further indicated that "the sense of mission" though attaching great importance to British tradition, "looked to the empty land not only to replicate society but to improve it."[164] It was believed the west could escape the petty religious, racial and political divisions of older societies.[165] In the light of Owram's argument the words of Rev. Dr. George Bryce, who expressed a regional vision, can be clearly understood as he made reference to the dawn of the 1890s and declared his expectation that in the west there would develop "a higher Canadian life . . . for the future millions of our wide prairies."[166]

The way in which this "higher Canadian life" could be achieved, according to D. M. Duncan, prominent churchman and educator was

> . . . to know our social requirements, suit means to ends, remedies to disorders and anticipating the trend of national growth and development, to so order our work that it shall contribute to the upbuilding of all that is worthy and the overthrow of all that is base. 167

For men like Duncan and others the pursuit of this goal was found through a reform movement, that embodied traditional values.

NOTES

[1] D. S. Woods, Education in Manitoba (Winnipeg: Manitoba Economic Survey Board, 1938), p. 4.

[2] Alan F. J. Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth --1874-1914 (Montreal and London: McGill-Queens University Press, 1975), p. 130.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Tony J. Kuz, ed., Winnipeg 1874-1974: Progress and Prospects (Winnipeg: Manitoba Department of Industry and Commerce, 1974), p. 9.

[5] Alan Artibise, "Winnipeg, 1874-1914," in Urban History Review, June 1975, p. 43. Artibise sees the prosperity of Winnipeg as resulting from the work of the dynamic leaders and businessmen of the city. Prosperity was not, according to Artibise, a result of "geographical location or initial advantage" but rather was brought about by the determined efforts of the city's business leaders. He indicates that it was their untiring efforts that brought the C. P. R. and its shops and yards to the city at a time when Selkirk, twenty miles to the north of Winnipeg, was also attempting to attract the railroad.

[6] Kuz, Winnipeg 1874-1974, p. 9.

[7] Artibise, "Winnipeg, 1874-1914," p. 43.

[8] Ibid., p. 44.

[9] Ruben Bellan, Winnipeg, First Century: An Economic History (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Queenston House Publishers Co. Ltd., 1978), p. 49.

[10] Ibid., p. 52.

[11] Ibid., p. 76.

[12] Artibise, Winnipeg: a Social History, p. 123.

[13] Bellan, Winnipeg, First Century, p. 49.

[14] Ibid., p. 79.

[15] Ibid., p. 79.

[16] Ibid., p. 73.

[17] Ibid., p. 78.

[18] Manitoba Free Press, February 1, 1908, p. 4.

[19] David Spector, "Winnipeg's First Labor Unions," Manitoba Pageant, vol. 6-21 (1970-1976), p. 14.

[20] Manitoba Free Press, November 5, 1910, p. 36.

[21] David Spector, "Labor Unions," p. 14.

[22] Ibid.

[23] W. L. Morton, Manitoba: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 304.

[24] Manitoba, Department of Education, Annual Report, 1891, p. 124.

Daniel McIntyre's background clashed with the new developments of an industrialized urban society. He was born into a traditional Scottish Presbyterian family in 1852 and was brought up in a rural area near Dalhousie, New Brunswick.
William J. Wilson, "Daniel McIntyre and Education in Winnipeg," (M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1978.)

[25] Annual Report (1908), p. 420. The home that William A. McIntyre could look back upon was his rural parental home at Balderson near Perth, Ontario. The family life build up in that home was described as "representative of old and highly respected families of Ontario." The values that characterized that home were expressed in his religious commitment at First Baptist Church in Winnipeg where he was Sunday School Superintendent for many years.
Manitoba Free Press, December 14, 1937, p. 4.
Winnipeg Tribune, December 14, 1937, p. 12.

[26] Richard Allen, "The Social Gospel and the Reform Tradition in Canada, 1890-1928," Canadian Historical Review, vol. 49, no. 4 (December 1968), p. 384.

[27] Manitoba Free Press, December 1, 1897, p.4.

[28] Ibid., February 14, 1910, p. 79.

[29] Voice, September 26, 1901.

Rev J. B. Silcox served Central Congregational Church in Winnipeg from January 1881 to 1888 and from April 1900 to 1904. W. J. McRaye, Pioneers and Prominent People of Manitoba (Winnipeg: Canadian Publicity Co., 1925), p. 142.

Richard Allen has identified him as a Social Gospel preacher who emphasized the need for social salvation. "The Social Gospel and the Reform Tradition in Canada 1890-1928," Canadian Historical Review, vol. 49, no. 4 (December 1968), p. 384.

[30] Manitoba Free Press, March 27, 1909, p. 4

[31] Ibid., November 11, 1898, p. 79.

[32] Manitoba, Department of Education, *Annual Report*, 1908, pp. 421-422.

[33] Winnipeg Public School Board, *Annual Report*, 1898, p. 20.

[34] *Manitoba Free Press*, January 18, 1900, p. 3.

[35] *Educational Journal of Western Canada*, vol. 4, no. 7 (1902), p. 210.

[36] Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History*, p. 142.

[37] Ibid., p. 153.

[38] Ibid., p. 143.

[39] J. R. Miller, "D'Alton McCarthy, Equal Rights, and the Origins of the Manitoba School Question," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 54 (1973), p. 382.

[40] George Chipman, "Winnipeg: The Melting Pot," *The Canadian MaMagazine*, vol 33 (May 1909 to October 1909 inclusive), p. 410. See also appendix.

[41] Artibise, "Winnipeg, 1874-1914," p. 163.

[42] Artibise, "An Urban Economy: Patterns of Economic Change in Winnipeg, 1873-1971," *Prairie Forum*, vol. 1, no. 2 (1976), p. 169.

[43] Artibise, "Winnipeg, 1874-1914," p. 140.

[44] *Manitoba Free Press*, December 7, 1912.

[45] For a discussion of the north end of Winnipeg and the residents, see Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History*, pp. 158-165.

[46] Ibid., p. 158.

[47] Ibid., p. 165.

[48] *Manitoba Free Press*, December 7, 1912

[49] Arthur A. Chiel, "Jews in Manitoba," *Manitoba Pageant*, vol. 1-4 (1956-1957), p. 7.

[50] Ibid.

[51] James H. Gray, *The Boy from Winnipeg* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1970), p. 3.

[52] Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History*, p. 161.

[53] Manitoba Free Press, December 7, 1912

[54] Harvey Hymie Herstein, "The Growth of the Winnipeg Jewish Community and the Evolution of its Educational Institutions" (M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1964), p. 1.

[55] Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History, p. 240.

[56] Ibid., p. 198.

[57] Herstein, "Growth of the Winnipeg Jewish Community," p. 2.

[58] Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History, p. 164.

[59] G. N. Emery, "The Methodist Church and the 'European Foreigners' of Winnipeg: The All People's Mission, 1889-1914," in Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions Series 3, no. 28 (1971-1972), p. 87.

[60] Gray, The Boy from Winnipeg, p. 3-4.

[61] Marilyn Barber, "An Introduction" in J. S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates or Coming Canadians (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. xiii.

James Shaver Woodsworth was born into a Methodist home outside Toronto where his father served as a circuit riding Methodist preacher. When his father became Superintendent of Missions for the Northwest the family moved to Manitoba where James studied at Wesley College. After further study in theology at Victoria College in Toronto he returned to Manitoba where he was ordained. After a term of service in rural areas he was called to serve Grace Methodist Church in Winnipeg and later in 1907 became Superintendent of All People's Mission.
Marilyn Barber, "An Introduction," p. vii and viii.

[62] Emery, "The Methodist Church", pp. 89-90.

[63] Chipman, "Winnipeg: The Melting Pot," p. 413.

Marilyn Barber, in "An Introduction" to Strangers Within Our Gates, has indicated that Social Darwinians gave "scientific credibility" to the idea of the superiority of the Anglo-Saxons. They were seen as having attained a dominant position through a process of natural selection of the fittest. p. xiv.

In an address entitled "Educational Thoughts," delivered to the annual meeting of the Manitoba Literary Society at Manitoba College in late 1897, Dr. George Bryce, a leading Winnipeg clergyman and educator, made reference to social evolution. He indicated that the evolutionary theory enabled people to understand "the history and progress of man in language, civilization, political institutions, education and social and moral reforms." Manitoba Free Press, November 23, 1897, p. 3.

The *Manitoba Free Press*, in an editorial dated June 16, 1906, declared "Today the position of the Anglo-Saxon race seems strong enough to defy the fiercest onslaughts of fortune and the most dire vicissitudes of time." p. 4.

[64] *Manitoba Free Press*, April 5, 1909.

[65] Emery, "The Methodist Church," pp. 89-90.

[66] *Manitoba Free Press*, November 3, 1910, p. 2.

[67] *Winnipeg Tribune*, August 29, 1908, p. 8.

[68] *Western School Journal*, vol 1, no. 4, April 1906, p. 4.

William James Sisler was born into a Quaker family in a rural area near New Market, Ontario. He studied at Wesley College in Winnipeg and at University in Chicago. His close association with immigrants in north Winnipeg began in 1901 when he was appointed manual training teacher for the north Winnipeg schools. In 1905 he continued his work with immigrants as principal of the new Strathcona School in the north end where he remained for eighteen years. *Manitoba Pageant*, vol. 2, no. 15 (1965-1970), pp. 14-18.

[69] *Manitoba Free Press*, April 6, 1907, p. 16.

[70] Ibid., February 5, 1909, p. 7.

[71] J. W. Chafe, *An Apple for the Teacher* (Winnipeg: Hignall Printing Co. Ltd., 1967), p. 74.

[72] Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History*, p. 237.

[73] *Manitoba Free Press*, November 8, 1910, p. 2.

[74] Ibid., March 18, 1909, p. 10.

[75] J. S. Woodsworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates, or Coming Canadians*, Reprint (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 249.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Chipman, "Winnipeg: The Melting Pot," p. 415.

[78] *Manitoba Free Press*, May 1, 1909, p. 1.

[79] *The Canadian Magazine*, vol. 33 (May 1909 to October 1909), p. 415.

[80] Chipman, "Winnipeg: The Melting Pot," p. 548.

[81] *Western School Journal*, April 1906, p. 4.

[82] Woodsworth, Coming Canadians, p. 248.

[83] Western School Journal, vol. 1, no. 10 (December 1906), p. 1.

[84] Ibid., vol 4, no. 6 (June 1909), p. 210.

[85] Emery, "The Methodist Church," p. 93.

[86] Western School Journal, vol. 1, no. 10 (December 1906), p. 1.

[87] Manitoba Free Press, May 20, 1909, p. 4.

[88] Emery, "The Methodist Church," p. 87.

[89] Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History, p. 143.

[90] Department of Education, Annual Report, 1908, p. 420.

[91] Manitoba Free Press, June 12, 1909.

[92] Ibid., December 8, 1913

[93] Woodsworth, Coming Canadians, p. 246.

[94] Donald Avery, Dangerous Foreigners: European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), p. 43.

[95] Manitoba Free Press, April 6, 1907.

[96] Ibid., March 21, 1910.

[97] Department of Education, Annual Report, 1905, p. 16.

[98] W. J. Chafe, An Apple for the Teacher, p. 6.

[99] Sybil Shack, "The Education of Immigrant Children During the First Two Decades of This Century," Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions Series 3, no. 30 (1973-1974), p. 30.

[100] Ibid., p. 27.

[101] Manitoba Free Press, April 16, 1909, p. 5.

[102] John R. Bone, "Canada's Problem in Assimilation," The Canadian Magazine, vol. 42, no. 6 (April 1914), p. 10.

[103] Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History, p. 102.

[104] Ibid., p. 103.

[105] Morris K. Mott, "'The Foreign Peril': Nativism in Winnipeg, 1916-1923," M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba (1970), p. 2.

[106] Ibid., p. 3.

[107] Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History, p. 38.

[108] Ibid., pp. 38-39.

[109] Ibid., p. 143.

[110] John S. Ewart, The Manitoba School Question (Toronto: Copp Clark Co. Ltd., 1894), p. 169.

Machray was born in Scotland and became Anglican Primate of all Canada. When he died in 1904 a Manitoba Free Press report described him as "a Conservative churchman, deeply attached to the historic standards of the Church of England." Manitoba Free Press, March 10, 1904.

[111] Manitoba Free Press, March 12, 1890.

[112] Ibid., February 8, 1909, p. 5.

[113] Barber, "An Introduction," pp. xvii, xviii.

[114] Ibid., p. xiii.

[115] Emery, "The Methodist Church," p. 90.

[116] Manitoba Free Press, October 29, 1910, pp. 1-5.

[117] Ibid., May 27, 1907, p. 5.

[118] Ibid., April 6, 1909, p. 4.

[119] Rev. George Bryce, "The New Canadianism," Manitoba Free Press, November 12, 1898, p. 7.

Bryce was a leading spokesman for the British in Winnipeg and frequently had articles published emphasizing the importance of the "British Connection." In The Canadian Magazine, vol. 19, no. 6 (October 1902), Bryce described himself as "the firstborn son of British parents who left the foot of the Ochil Hills to find a home in Upper Canada. That home was British in every thought and inspiration. The child grew up to hear of grandfather, uncles and cousins at "home" -- meaning thereby Great Britain. A letter from "home" was one from the old land. The poetry and literature of Scotland and England were ever present to strengthen that ideal. The youth saw, it is true, the flowing Grand River, though even that was at times called the Ouse: the stately maples, the chestnut and butternut trees, and the picturesque redman -- saw these as Canadian, belonging to his native land, but he bore the same natural allegiance to the Crown and Constitution of Great Britain as he did to his own family. He thought of nothing else, and he deserved little credit for that."

[120] Fred Ney, "Empire Travel and the Relation of the British Teacher to the Empire," Western School Journal vol. 7, no. 9 (November 1912), p. 355.

[121] Ibid.

Fred Ney was associated with the Department of Education in Winnipeg and promoted an organization called "Hands across the Sea." Teachers joined this organization and were required to make "at least one visit to the Motherland -- the Shrine of Empire." The goals were to (1) Give insight into the educational system of Great Britain. (2) To strengthen the bonds of Empire and Imperial fraternity. (3) To bring the people of Manitoba into closer touch and communion with the Motherland through the median of the greatest factor of Empire -- the school room. Ney believed that the words "Education" and "Empire" were synonymous. Western School Journal, vol. 19, no. 9 (November 1912), p. 355.

[122] Rev. George Bryce, "Canadian Loyalty," The Canadian Magazine, vol. 19, no. 6 (October 1902), p. 484.

[123] J. H. Mulvey, "President's Address," Western School Journal, vol. 10, no. 5 (May 1915), p. 155.

[124] Bryce, "The New Canadianism," p. 7.

[125] Rev. Dr. George Bryce, "The Canadianization of Western Canada," Manitoba Free Press, October 15, 1910.

[126] Bryce, "Canadian Loyalty," The Canadian Magazine, vol. XIX, no. 6 (October 1902), p. 484. Professor W. F. Osborne was also noted as a leader who emphasized British interests. He spoke approvingly of the lines of trade running east and west and encouraged labor unions to break their ties with the United States. W. F. Osborne, "The Laboring Man and the Nation," Manitoba Free Press, May 4, 1907, p. 38.

[127] Manitoba Free Press, July 8, 1898, p. 4.

[128] Ibid., June 16, 1906, p. 4.

[129] Barber, "An Introduction," p. xvii.

[130] Bryce, "The Canadianization of Western Canada."

[131] W. J. Sisler, "The Immigrant Child," Western School Journal, vol. 1, no. 4 (April 1906), p. 5.

[132] Barber, "An Introduction," p. xvii.

[133] Morris K. Mott, "The Foreign Peril," p. 35.

[134] Manitoba Free Press, May 4, 1907, p. 38.

W. F. Osborne taught English at Wesley College and later was head of the French faculty at the University of Manitoba. He was described in the Manitoba Free Press as "one of the foremost leaders in the cultural life of Manitoba." Manitoba Free Press, February 9, 1950.

[135] Ibid., October 15, 1910.

[136] Ibid., March 12, 1912.

[137] Ibid., November 23, 1912.

[138] Ibid., March 12, 1912.

[139] Ibid., December 14, 1900, p. 8.

[140] Ibid., April 3, 1906, p. 11.

Rev. J. L. Gordon was of Scottish descent and succeeded Rev. J. B. Silcox at Central Congregational Church in 1904. He had a background that included work as an employee at Wannamaker department stores in the United States and 15 years as business manager of the Y.M.C.A. in Brooklyn, New York.

[141] Ibid., September 5,1898, p. 3.

[142] Ibid., January 14, 1903, p. 11.

[143] Ibid., December 11, 1896, p. 5.

[144] Ibid., May 3, 1907.

[145] Ibid., April 12, 1912.

[146] Ibid., September 5, 1898

[147] Ibid., May 3, 1907, p. 4.

[148] For an examination of attitudes in Canadian business in what was called a "free enterprise economy" see Michael Bliss, A Living Profit: Studies in the Social History of Canadian Business, 1883-1911 (Toronto 1974). Bliss has argued that while the rhetoric of businessmen focussed on "free enterprise" they favored business combination and restrictive trade practices to ensure a "living profit." But at the same time they were not prepared to grant the worker the same right so that he could make "a living wage." "Leaders of trade combines were business statesmen; the leaders of labor unions were parasitical demagogues." The new business philosophy was "cooperation;" the workers code was "individual hard work and saving."

[149] Ibid., May 29, 1899.

[150] Ibid., September 6, 1909, p. 3.

[151] Ibid., January 29, 1906.

[152] Ibid., January 29, 1904, p. 4.

[153] Emery, "The Methodist Church," p. 96.

[154] Western School Journal, vol. 3, no. 9 (November 1908).

[155] Ibid.

[156] W. A. McIntyre, "Public and Private Morals," Western School Journal, vol. 12, no. 8 (October 1917), p. 311.

[157] Ibid.

[158] Ibid.

[159] Ibid.

[160] Douglas Owram, Promise of Eden:The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West 1856-1900 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950), pp. 209-216.

[161] Ibid., pp. 136-137.

[162] Ibid., p. 126.

[163] Ibid., p. 129.

[164] Ibid., p. 144.

[165] Ibid., p. 219.

[166] Manitoba Free Press, November 12, 1898, p. 7.

Owram has compared this idea with the American frontier tradition. According to the American myth of the frontier, society was improved because of the very freedom of the undeveloped frontier; the American frontiersman, freed of past restraints and with progressively less cultural baggage, created a society from within himself and because it was held that the common man was inherently good, it was also believed that this new society would be free from corruption and more in accord with liberal-democratic ideals than the civilization that had gone before. In contrast in the Canadian mind the open land was thought to provide an opportunity to purify and improve old institutions. It was not believed . . . that the wilderness itself-- or, perhaps more accurately, man in that unstructured wilderness--was the means to a strong and improved social fabric. In the United States, society was supposedly to be improved by putting man into a free environment: in Canada it was to be improved by putting institutions in a freer environment. Douglas Owram, Promise of Eden, pp. 144-145.

Henry Nash Smith has stated the character of the American empire "was defined not by streams of influence out of the past, not by a cultural tradition, not by its place in a world community, but by a relation between man and nature--or rather, even more narrowly, between American man and the American west." Henry Nash Smith, Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), p. 217.

[167] D. M. Duncan, "Editorial Comment," Western School Journal, vol. 3, no. 9 (November 1908), p. 328.

David Merrit Duncan was born into a Presbyterian minister's family in Evanston, Illinois where his father, a minister of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, was serving for two years. He was educated in Toronto and joined the Winnipeg Collegiate staff in 1895. He became associated with St. Stephen Presbyterian Church, a noted Social Gospel center, and became active in Sunday School work. He was also active as a board member of the Canadian National Institute for the Blind and as a member of the board of welfare supervision. He was described as being active "in almost every phase of the educational and public life" in the city. Manitoba Free Press, September 11, 1912, and Manitoba Free Press, December 19, 1928.

CHAPTER III

The Reform Movement -- Theory and Practice

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the reform movement that developed in Winnipeg. Specific attention is given to the Social Gospel as a new social theory and to the new reform organizations that developed in the city which gave expression to this new theory.

As the new corporate industrial society and the immigration of large numbers of Europeans with alien values appeared to threaten Winnipeg, a number of the socially concerned people in the city began to seek answers to the problem. The ideology of the past with its individual relationships and common value system saw nature and human history as benevolent. It had been based on classical liberalism with its doctrine of laissez-faire and a closed system of religious faith. This classical liberalism now appeared to many people in socially responsible positions, as no longer adequate to a changed society. In 1908 the Manitoba Free Press indicated in a review of Professor E.A. Ross's book "Sin and Society" that

> . . . Watt, Stephenson, Faraday, Morse and Bell have brought not only a material but a moral revolution. They and their peers in the field of discovery and invention have made possible a social organization where the old righteousness is not enough so that we need an annual supplement to the "Decalogue." Today the good of the bee is bound up with the welfare of the hive as never before. 1

If the old doctrine of laissez-faire and the pursuit of individual self interest were inadequate to deal with the new industrial age, then socially concerned people had to take some action. This was indicated by Dr. Fisher of New York, who was serving as international secretary of the YMCA in 1908, when he spoke at a banquet in Winnipeg. He stated:

> Twenty five years ago political economists had taught that social conditions should be let alone and that men should trust to natural development to bring good out of evil. This was no longer possible. Men were forced to take action in self defence and were being compelled to deal with problems which had never been taken in hand in any previous era of the world's history. 2

In seeking to take these problems in hand in Winnipeg, reform minded people embraced a new social theory that had developed in western countries. This social theory was a new liberalism which differed from classical liberalism in that it took a more positive attitude toward the state and exhibited a negative attitude toward the old doctrine of laissez-faire. It had arisen in several countries including Britain and later the United States and Canada. Clarence J. Karier has described it as "a middle class liberalism that eschewed violence and conflict and rugged individualism."[3] Stewart Crysdale has said that the new liberalism

> . . . provided the intellectual basis for a second alternative ideology, less incisive than communism, but, as events proved, more congenial for most of the complex, pluralistic societies that were emerging in Western Europe and North America. The central tenet of this ideology was that man in harmony with the historic values of Christian teaching, which enjoined him to treat all men as brothers, should vigorously seek mastery of his environment. Joined with the traditional humanistic theistic faith was a new belief in the ability of applied science to bring about the millenium. . . . In the United States . . . the new liberal ideology . . . took the form of a distinctive type of Social Gospel which called into question the abusive excesses of free enterprise but did not challenge the fundamental tenets of the economic system. The Social Gospel became a social movement, though a diffused one, among middle class American church people in the first two decades of the twentieth century. 4

The Social Gospel, according to Crysdale, is not easy to define

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or contain.[5] It applied to a wide variety of individuals and groups in western society who emphasized "one aspect of Christian belief, the responsibility of each person for his neighbors and for the formation of just social and political institutions."[6]

In Canada, according to Lionel Orlikow, the Social Gospel was a view of Protestant Christianity "which stressed man's responsibility for the social as well as the moral and spiritual well being of his fellow man." Its spirit could be expressed in a variety of ways: "practical Christianity, a daily application of the Golden Rule and the brotherhood of man."[7]

The Social Gospel was adopted by a subgroup of Protestants in Winnipeg. Rev. J. S. Woodsworth became one of the more outstanding members of this group. He had attempted to Protestantize the immigrant population through a traditional Methodist ministry. When he found this to be impossible he turned to the Social Gospel and dedicated himself to exposing "Europeans to Protestant religious assumptions without attempting to change their denominational affiliation." He no longer emphasized "personal salvation" and his concern for the world to come declined. He became oriented to Christianizing life on earth and declared "We want more to save our age than our nervous dying souls."[8]

The first public recognition of the Social Gospel or the new "practical Christianity" in Winnipeg occurred in 1897 when the Manitoba Free Press made reference to a new emphasis in Protestant Christianity. The report indicated that a Christianity which

> . . . has only reference to the life to come and takes no account of the conditions of life as they are, not only fails of being a complete Gospel but loses one of the sources of its power in moving men. But a Gospel that aims at--to do something for a man now, that displays a spirit of brotherly helpfulness,

> appeals to the best element in him and prepares the ground for the sources of spiritual seed. Modern Christianity is beginning to act upon these principles and only beginning. 9

Within six years of that "beginning" Winnipeg became noted for having one of the most brilliant and energetic groups of radical churchmen in Canada.[10] Among these churchmen was Salem Bland, who has been described by Richard Allen as "the philosopher and mentor" of the Social Gospel movement in Canada.[11] When Bland went to Winnipeg's Wesley College in 1903 it became the dynamic center of the Social Gospel in Canada.[12]

According to Richard Allen the Social Gospel movement in Canada was adopted to

> forge links between proposed reforms and the religious heritage of the nation, thus endowing reform with an authority it could not otherwise command. At the same time it attempted to create the religious and social attitudes thought necessary for life in a world reformed. 13

This reformed world was the focus of discussion among Protestant leaders in Winnipeg when the ideas of R.J. Campbell were debated in the city in 1907. Campbell was a British promoter of what he called a "new theology" that centered on social reform. His works were widely published and, according to Dr. Rose of Broadway Methodist Church in Winnipeg, people were clamoring for them. Rose believed that the great interest in Campbell's written work indicated "a hunger and thirst after teaching" on the great problems discussed.[14] Campbell believed that:

> The social reform movement is the gospel of the humanity of God and the divinity of man. Social reformers may not admit it, they may not know it. They say the movements are parallel. But I believe they are one and the same. The church has nothing to do with getting men into heaven. Its real work is to get heaven into this everyday world. 15

Rev. J. L. Gordon, minister of Central Congregational Church assured a large audience of "working people" that the work of getting heaven into their everyday world would succeed. Gordon declared:

> Every problem in the world will be solved some day . . . there will be a happier day . . . for love is bound to win . . . the world belongs to all of us, and we should have our share, our right and our position. 16

The creation of the religious and social attitudes thought necessary for life in such a reformed world were perceived to be possible in the light of a more liberal optimistic theology. Richard Allen has indicated that Albert Ritschl, a German theologian, had an "optimistic theology" that played a great role in the emergence of Social Gospel theology. This theology dominated Protestant religious thought in Europe in the 1870s and 1880s. Allen has stated:

> In Ritschl's theology man and God seemed to exist in a continuum. The decades of arid metaphysical debate had made Ritschl skeptical about the possibility of rational knowledge of God. Not the faculty of reason, but the emotions and, in particular, the experience of Divine forgiveness, were the avenues to the knowledge of God. Out of Ritschl's emphasis on the forgiving work of God, God emerged simply as love. It was in effect a humbler divinity than the Biblical and Reformation attributes of holiness and wrath allowed. Just as the traditional characteristics which distinguished God from man were discounted, so the existential alienation between man and God, expressed in the doctrine of original sin was denied, and man appeared as fundamentally good. 17

This idea of the fundamental goodness of man very early appealed to some in the Methodist church. In 1875 Henry Bland began to reflect Ritschl's new idea as he preached that children were not to be regarded as having been born in "original sin" but in "original goodness." Bland maintained that all that was necessary was that proper attention be given to nurture in order to keep them in that condition.[18] Richard Allen has indicated this idea in Ritschl's theology had a profound influence on Salem Bland in the 1890s as Bland's Social Gospel beliefs were developing.[19]

The idea of Christian nurture spread in the Methodist and Presbyterian churches. In Winnipeg Dr. MacGillivray, speaking in Knox Presbyterian Church, indicated "the object of the church . . . is to keep the young under good influence and right relations from the start."[20] When the Manitoba Free Press reported on a large Sunday School gathering in the city it was stated that the work of the Sunday School was formative rather than reformative. It was undergirded by the belief or faith "in the inherent spiritual nature of the scholars. This nature demands nurture. The goal is Christlike character and a righteous citizenship."[21] Richard Allen has indicated that the spread of the Gospel of Christian nurture was significant in that "it gave a basis for Christians to engage in 'secular' social reform."[22]

When Salem Bland addressed the Provincial Educational Association in Winnipeg he challenged educators with social reform. He encouraged them to use their influence to "guide the destinies of this land into that golden age of truth and justice."[23] For Bland, since there was no wilful evil in the world, it was possible to change the world. Even the abuses of free enterprise could be eradicated. This would not require any change in the system, it would only require making the system work better. Change could be realized for "human institutions and individuals were . . . plastic and could be moulded by the good just as easily as they would be influenced by evil."[24]

The liberalized theology that saw man as "good" and in need only of "moulding" was a characteristic of the Social Gospel. The emphasis was not on doctrine but on the practical aspects of Protestant

Christianity. Dr. Daniel McIntyre, Superintendent of Winnipeg public schools, indicated that when one taught Sunday School there was no need

> to dole out doctrinal truths that are not easily apprehended by teachers themselves, or to ask for the memorizing of the Golden texts that have no significance to the learner, but are given in the vague hope that someday they may prove useful. As the old teacher remarked "perhaps the boy may some day be in jail, and then it will be good for him to have these things lodged in his memory." Would it not be better to lodge some good things in his disposition, so that he would be likely to keep out of jail. [25]

As the Social Gospel escalated, people of various denominational backgrounds were drawn together to emphasize "practical Christianity." In the pursuit of a reformed society with new social and religious attitudes they made an effort to ensure "institutional consolidation" which gave rise to a church union movement in 1902.[26] Dr. George Bryce, noted educator and Presbyterian clergyman in Winnipeg, spoke of "the fading away of prejudice between the churches" and "the fellowship of kindred minds", as people joined together to work for "the good of humanity."[27] Another clergyman, Rev. J. L. Gordon of Central Congregational Church indicated that he saw the day when "all the walls that divide the denominations of the church will disappear."[28] Robert Fletcher, a prominent Winnipeg educator, gave an address on "The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man." In this address he stated:

> Among the Protestant churches the old differences [are] all falling into disrepute if not into oblivion. The religious forces of the world [are] all forces for unification, all centering on the doctrine of the brotherhood of man. . . . There [is] a kingdom of humanity, a brotherhood of man, but there [are] still many who [are] asserting another kingdom, not of submission, but of self-assertion, not of brotherhood but of individualism but sooner or later the prodigal [will]

> return to himself. When in a far country loneliness overwhelms him. 29

This brotherhood of man was the goal of the advocates of the Social Gospel as they attempted to create new religious and social attitudes. They believed:

> Jesus taught God's Fatherhood and kingdom and the life of service and brotherhood to men . . . if man but shared the Divine life and Divine love, the kingdom of God would be accomplished and religious difficulties and social disorder would have an end. 30

A committee on "Sociological Questions" that had been formed by the Methodist Church reported in 1894:

> When society has been impregnated with the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, trusts monopolies, heartless combinations and oppressive economic conditions shall have been superseded by a universal brotherhood. 31

It was realized among Social Gospel advocates in Winnipeg that if the religious and social attitudes thought necessary for a brotherhood of man were to be created then the social environment would have to be changed. They believed that most of the blame for social problems could be attributed to the way the social system developed following the Industrial Revolution. Man was corrupted by society and behaved abnormally. Reform was necessary to allow man to develop according to God's plan.[32] An unnamed Winnipeg resident, concerned over social conditions in Winnipeg in 1907, wrote to the Manitoba Free Press expressing his view that the disordered state of society did not represent the Divine order of things. He asked:

> Is it the Divine order of things that as Winnipeg and other towns grow so also should increase vice, crime and tuberculosis? Is that the natural order? Is that the law of heaven? Is that necessarily so? If it is, then there is no doubt but that this is the devil's world. But surely

> Providence would not make such a blunder as to make a world like that. 33

As Social Gospel advocates focused their attention on the environment they reflected the influence of Darwin on their social theory. Darwin believed that the environment was important in the development of certain characteristics in the species.[34] This suggested to many that the social environment was important in social development. Environmentalism was promoted in the belief that "nature and evolution undergirded the social graces."[35] Darwin's idea was so interpreted as to provide a foundation for social hope. Herbert Spencer's interpretation of Darwin, which led Spencer to oppose reform movements because they interfered with nature, was rejected. Man was viewed not as passive with environment acting upon him but as "an actor upon environment." Furthermore it was pointed out that Darwin dealt with the origin of the species and not with "the pattern of behavior by which species survived."[36] The pattern for survival was cooperation and mutual aid. This Reform Darwinism reinforced the ideas of the Social Gospel on brotherhood and enabled it to incorporate moral striving as part of God's evolutionary plan.[37]

Rev. Dr. George Bryce, in an address before the Royal Society of Canada, indicated:

> According to evolutionary philosophy when races and communities are brought together, they must work out their struggle in the survival of the fittest. Fortunately that is not a complete philosophy. Benjamin Kidd has shown in his "Social Evolution" and the late professor Drummond in his "Ascent of Man" that there are other principles deeply embedded in human nature, such as religious feeling, humanity and affection which modify the struggle which the stern bed of Procrustes would demand. 38

The struggle was to be modified by those who embraced the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount which was regarded as the source of moral principles for all men. Jesus was seen as the personification of these principles and the great Example for all men.

> [His] death and resurrection was . . . an act of costly heroism, evoking in successive generations the spirit of self-sacrificial service . . . the kingdom of God being realized as the world became more and more transformed by the spirit of Christian love. 39

While there was a radicalism implicit in the Social Gospel there was also, according to Richard Allen, a conservatism associated with it. This conservatism was found in a general agreement among Social Gospelers that "in the family as they knew it and in the political democracy of their time, the two essential elements of the society toward which Jesus pointed were already in existence."[40]

In Canada the Social Gospel went through its generation of ascent from 1890 to 1914 and was, to a large extent, a middle class British Protestant movement. The Methodist and Presbyterian churches which had developed into national territorial churches, following the collective movement of the Social Gospel, gave significant support to this social philosophy.[41] Allen has remarked that no major Protestant denomination in Canada escaped the impact of the Social Gospel.[42]

In Winnipeg the Social Gospel leadership in the churches centered around such Methodist men as Rev. Salem Bland of Wesley College, the major Canadian exponent of the Social Gospel in Canada; William Ivens, founder of the Canadian Labor Church; A. E. Smith, minister of McDougall Methodist Church; and J. S. Woodsworth of All Peoples Mission.[43] Among the Presbyterians was Rev. C. W. Gordon of whom Richard Allen has said that no denomination harbored a competitor as a Social Gospeler.[44] Rev. J. B. Silcox, minister of Central Congregational Church, was the Social Gospel spokesman for the

Congregationalists. Rev. A. A. Shaw, minister of the First Baptist Church[45] was active in Social Gospel interests and did much to keep the Social Gospel alive among Baptists in the city.[46] While it is not as easy to find a Social Gospel church leader among the Anglicans there is evidence of its influence. One of the first, of what can be called "social service agencies," was begun in Winnipeg in Holy Trinity Anglican Church in 1893 when the Winnipeg Lodging and Coffee House Association was formed.[47] Mrs. Margaret Scott worked with this mission "relieving suffering and distress of all kinds"[48] until the establishment of the Margaret Scott Nursing Mission.[49] Archbishop Matheson spoke of the necessity to "possess the land commercially and from a Christian standpoint." He wanted to "mould the nation and lift it up in its ideals, Godward and heavenward."[50]

While the Anglicans were active in applying Protestant values to the social life of the city, the Methodist and Presbyterian churches were the main leaders in the Social Gospel in the city. They alone accounted for 39% of the religious makeup of the city, and exercised an influence greater than their numbers would otherwise warrant.[51] This was due not only to the fact that they belonged to the majority British cultural group with a restricted franchise, but also to the fact that they held the large majority of the positions of social leadership.

In seeking to preserve, through the Social Gospel, the social and moral characteristics of the Protestant tradition, the Winnipeg Social Gospel advocates had confidence in human goodness. They believed that it was possible to educate man to prefer social good to private advantage and to contribute directly to the building of the kingdom. The Social Gospel owed much of its popular appeal to the social problems that confronted the people. It also received an impetus from the rising influence of socialism upon the Protestant churches in Canada. Whether the new philosophy of socialism was regarded as a rival for the loyalties of the working class or a political ally in reforming the world it was a philosophy that could not be ignored by the Protestant churches.[52] Churchmen believed that in calling for the application of the social teachings of the Sermon on the Mount they were presenting "an alternative to socialism."[53] Vipond has indicated that the Social Gospelers were more liberal than socialist. He indicated that "although they borrowed from the socialist critique of capitalism, they wished to Christianize rather than overthrow the capitalist system."[54]

Socialism, in its more radical form, challenged the existence of organized religion both by its critique of Christian belief and by its promise to provide a heaven on earth without divine aid.[55] In Winnipeg the more radical socialists came to refer to the more moderate socialists as "sentimentalists and Christ lovers."[56] In whatever way one may view the Social Gospel it was a reservoir of Protestant values and a motivating influence in the lives of influential citizens.

Among such citizens who were influenced by the Social Gospel was W. A. McIntyre. McIntyre who was principal of the Normal School during most of the 1890-1920 period, took a leading role in educational matters. He regarded the Social Gospel as a "wonderful awakening" in the Protestant church. He indicated in 1908 that the church

> has keenly felt the social problem and has begun to emphasize as never before the latter half of the great commandment. Such recognition has resulted in a wonderful awakening, not only

> among the preachers of the Gospel, but among the rank and file of Christians. 57

In the same year D. M. Duncan, an outstanding leader in the Winnipeg school system, supported McIntyre's observation in saying:

> The church is beginning to realize that it must have a Gospel for society as well as a Gospel for the individual, that there are social sins as well as individual sins, that every Christian is enjoined to love his fellowman just as truly as he is enjoined to love God. 58

As the Social Gospel began to gain acceptance in Winnipeg it raised the level of social consciousness in Winnipeg and either injected a new spirit into existing organizations begun by individual initiative or led to the development of new organizations to "deal with problems which had never been taken in hand in any previous era of the world's history."[59]

As the church became oriented toward social concerns, church people began to develop organizations that were dedicated to pursuing the perceived welfare of the city. This organizational response to urban problems was part of a larger general trend to organizations in Canada which Rutherford has referred to as "the collectivist urge."[60] In 1897 a social leader in Winnipeg declared "this is an age of organizations."[61] When these organizations in the city gained prominence they did not emphasize any relationship to specific church or denomination but they were permeated with the strong Protestant Christian values that characterized the lives of those who founded the organizations and worked in them. The organizations assumed responsibilities that had once belonged to the home, the church and the school and sought to preserve the values that these institutions once preserved. One such organization was the Women's Christian Temperance Union

(WCTU). It began in 1885 when Letitia Youman "unfurled the white banner in the city."[62] The WCTU opposed the consumption of alcohol but added other things to their list of concerns over the years. They attacked the use of tobacco for they believed that it had a "demoralizing influence on youth." They also opposed poolrooms and gambling for both were regarded as destructive of the moral fiber. They promoted equal suffrage, encouraged Sabbath keeping and supported the inculcation of the values of kindness, justice and purity. The WCTU in Winnipeg grew to become "the largest local temperance society in the world."[63] By 1907 the president of the WCTU in Winnipeg indicated that they were engaged in "a peaceful warfare against the slavery that shackled body and soul." She had just returned from a convention of the WCTU in Boston when she made it clear to the Union members in Winnipeg that reformers generally considered the WCTU to be "a great moral fact in the regeneration of the world."[64] In pursuit of this regenerating work they strongly supported the public school system and promoted compulsory education.[65] W. A. McIntyre, the principal of the Normal School in Winnipeg, described the WCTU as "a co-educator with the teachers of the public schools" helping to build "stronger bodies, a more perfect moral sentiment and a pure environment."[66]

Another organization that began through the interest of a Winnipeg woman was the Margaret Scott Nursing Mission. Margaret Scott, a young business woman became aware that her place in society was to minister to the poor and needy. She embarked upon a life of self-sacrificial service in association with the Coffee House operated by Holy Trinity Anglican Church. She worked with the unemployed, the destitute and the sick. In the course of her work she became aware of the work of the Nursing Mission in Toronto and recognized the need for a trained nurse to visit the sick in Winnipeg. A city businessman who shared her vision contributed to the salary of a full time trained nurse. When another nurse was needed in 1900 Rev. C. W. Gordon, the noted Social Gospel minister in Winnipeg, underwrote the full salary of another trained nurse.[67]

The example of Margaret Scott stirred a group of 48 Winnipeggers to establish a nursing mission.

> The proposed nursing mission would be the home and headquarters of the nurses, where all their supplies would be kept, and where they would have a small dispensary for outdoor patients, and as the city's needs still increased other nurses might be trained there in city mission work. The nursing mission would be interdenominational in character and practical in its workings, not only tending the poor when sick, but instructing them as far as possible how to study prevention by following the rules of simple hygiene. Above all, seeking with Christian influence to raise the moral tone to all that is highest and best. 68

The Nursing Mission quickly became operative in 1904 and in their tasks the nurses followed Margaret Scott's example of self-sacrificial service.[69] The nurses made 7,000 visits in 1905 and by 1913 well over 28,000 visits were made. In 1906 Margaret Scott arranged to have the General Hospital work with the Nursing Mission in training "district nurses."[70] These nurses spent two months of training at the Nursing Mission in order to become proficient in district nursing.[71] In a day when social welfare workers lacked any specialized training the work of the Nursing Mission in providing this training ranks as a noteworthy achievement.[72]

The focus of the Nursing Mission was on removing or moderating "the depersonalizing and demoralizing aspects of urban life." It was dedicated "to meeting the physical, social and moral needs of the city's poor."[73] As the Nursing Mission personnel pursued their goals there was communicated to the entire city the need for "caring for all the city's residents."[74]

A child hygiene department was begun in 1911 in an attempt to reduce the very high infant mortality rate. The nurses followed up every child for two years after birth.[75] Financial support was received from all levels of government but private donations were still the main means of support. The city became further involved in the work when the city government hired two full time child welfare nurses and opened a Bureau of Child Hygiene[76] in preparation for taking over the child hygiene work of the Nursing Mission.[77] Artibise has observed that this action on the part of the city indicated a break with the old belief that "success or failure were the respective social rewards for individual virtue or vice."[78] The work of the Nursing Mission was instrumental in promoting the idea in the city that there was a relationship between environment and poverty.[79]

The Nursing Mission, from the time it was established by the "48 Winnipeggers," was engaged in educating the poor. The establishment of a child hygiene department resulted in the development of a direct link with the public school system. Margaret Scott had read of the work of the "Little Nurses League" in New York. She had observed how most of the babies in the north end were cared for by their young sisters and decided that a Little Nurses League was needed for the north end of the city.[80] She started such a league which was soon taken over by the School Board and nurses instructed girls of school age in proper infant care.[81]

> The little girls . . . learn how to bathe the baby, (a real one for demonstration, not a doll) and about modified milk, and barley water and how sour bottles make sick babies. 82

The city undertook to publicize methods of hygiene and encouraged the School Board to expand the "Little Nurses League." As the school became directly involved in home management it contributed not only to the saving of infant lives but to the improvement of the lives of children in the schools.

Still another organization that was begun by individual initiative and later developed into a significant social agency in the city was the All Peoples Mission. The Mission was begun by Miss Dolly McGuire, a Methodist Sunday School teacher who began Sunday School work in the north end in 1889. Her work gradually diversified and expanded into "All Peoples Mission."[83] While the Margaret Scott Nursing Mission was not primarily concerned with assimilation, the All Peoples Mission made it their chief objective. In 1898, after having operated as a private mission supported by Winnipeg Methodist churches, it became an official Methodist mission. Its attention was focused on "Protestantizing and Canadianizing" the young Europeans.[84]

At the 1904 Missionary Conference of the Northwest Methodist Conference, J. H. Ashdown, a leading businessman and one time school board member occupied the chair and indicated the Mission could do more than it had done. He stated that the present institutions such as the Free Kindergarten, to which reference will be made later in this paper, and the All Peoples Mission "were only touching the outer fringe of the population." A greater work of assimilation had to be done among those who, to a large extent, were "running wild."[85] The greater work was undertaken by J. S. Woodsworth who in 1907 undertook the superintendency of the Mission. He aimed at bringing about the kingdom of heaven on earth.[86] In pursuit of his goal of "Christianizing life on earth" he emphasized:

> . . . work among non-English speaking immigrants, and particularly work with immigrant children through a kindergarten department conducted by certificated workers at a time when the city provided no kindergarten classes at all. The children were the hope of the future and they also provided a means of entrance into immigrant homes for workers who worked to encourage mothers to attend classes in sewing or kitchen-garden work or to stress the value of all adult immigrants coming to the night schools to learn English. In addition to educational work, All People's made provision for nursing and for fresh air camps and hospital treatment for sick children.[87]

This organization was strongly related to educational work and as an agency of the Methodist General Board of Missions,[88] was instrumental in establishing the first settlement house in Winnipeg. Settlement workers lived in close contact with the people and sought to counter the immigrant culture by constant contact with British Protestants and their values.[89] H. W. Hutchenson, a Methodist and a farm implement manufacturer[90] and J. H. Ashdown of Grace Methodist Church, a hardware merchant, were zealous in their support of the assimilation work carried on by the Mission.[91] They were representative of prominent Methodists who as "citizens and Christians" saw the necessity of working with "the heathen or noncivilized" to alleviate what they regarded as "their corrupting influence."[92]

As the work of the Mission was carried on, Woodsworth put a strong emphasis on the importance of the public school. He indicated that "desperate conditions" existed in the city and that the public school was the most important agency of reform. He stated:

> How are we to break down the walls which separate these foreigners from us? First of all comes the public school.

> Too great emphasis cannot be placed upon the work that has been accomplished by our national schools. 93

He called for a province wide compulsory education law and expressed his opinion

> . . . that our public schools, with their splendid equipment, might extend their operation by establishing industrial classes and literary clubs, thus becoming the center of the life of the community. 94

In advocating that the school become the "center of the life of the community" he was shifting the focus from the church to the school. He believed that the state should absorb many of the services provided by the churches and was convinced that churches could best serve society by making society independent of them. In keeping with this philosophy All Peoples terminated the teaching of English to immigrants when the schools began to offer that service.[95] Clearly, All Peoples Mission was helping to create a climate in which Winnipeggers could see the school as the mightiest assimilative force[96] and be prepared to have the school take over all manner of services in the interests of an improved society.

There were other organizations that involved a number of people who became interested in the social welfare of the city. The Christian Women's Union was one of the early organizations to be formed in the city. In order to receive a government grant it was incorporated in 1894. It was an organization that brought together women of different Protestant denominations who had an interest in pursuing social welfare work in the city. Among their projects was the development of a "refuge for women" that took the form of an "industrial home." The home took in what were called "degraded" cases and sought to rehabilitate them so that they could become useful members of society. The president of this organization was Mrs. George Bryce. She was a prominent social leader among the women of Winnipeg whose interest in social work led her, not only to the presidency of the Christian Women's Union, but to the writing, in 1899, of a history of all charitable institutions in the city. In 1900 as Mrs. Bryce reported on the work of the "Women's Union" she publicly linked their charitable work with the schools and indicated that the schools had a role to play in helping them assist "the fallen and lapsed." She stated:

> Those who would benefit the fallen and lapsed recognize that their beneficiaries [need to be trained] in habits of usefulness knowing that in due time the hurtfulness will disappear. That this training is such a necessary adjunct to the methods of charitable work seems to indicate some defect in the educational system provided for the young of our land . . . [In Winnipeg] the training of hand and eye has been added to the scholastic learning that formerly occupied entirely the attention of educationists . . . training in handicraft is thus provided for our boys, surely, to make the balance even, some equally practical instruction should be instituted for our girls, including all those feminine domestic arts that go so far to make the happiness of our Canadian homes. 97

Another organization dedicated to social welfare also looked to education as a means of improving people's lives. The Free Kindergarten Association was organized to assist in the assimilation of immigrants. It was not part of the public school system but in 1900, eight years after its founding, it had Daniel McIntyre, the Superintendent of Winnipeg public schools, serving on its board. The members of the Association visited mothers "tending the sick among them" and organizing mothers' meetings "for their improvement."[98] Sewing classes were held "for mothers and little girls" and work among the boys was pursued by men who were interested in "improving" the boys. In focusing on the education of the children the Association sought to get them off the streets, clothe them, feed them and provide them with a British

Protestant environment. They believed that "proper education of children during the first seven years of their lives does much to reduce poverty and crime in any community."[99] Social Gospel ministers like Rev. C. W. Gordon of St. Stephens Presbyterian Church and Rev. H. Pedly of Central Congregational Church, where Rev. J. B. Silcox had been minister, spoke in "high terms" of the work of the Kindergarten Association.[100]

An organization which also focused on children and was aimed at improving the community was the Children's Aid Society. It, like the Free Kindergarten, was linked to the public schools through Daniel McIntyre who assisted in its founding and served as first president from October 3, 1898 to October 29, 1900.[101] The Children's Aid was similar to the Free Kindergarten for it was organized to save children from what was regarded as an undesirable environment. The Children's Aid Society, in expressing its aims, indicated that it was organized

> . . . to prevent parents from dragging children down to the lowest and most hopeless depravity. . . . Society owes the child the opportunity to become a decent citizen. . . . The Children's Aid Society is one of the interests of society in the law laid down that every child shall have an opportunity to become either a good man or a good woman. 102

Unlike the Free Kindergarten, the Children's Aid had the power to remove a child from an undesirable environment if in the opinion of its workers the environment was not improved by the parents of the child. Visits were made to homes and attempts made to have parents "amend their habits." Such homes were kept under surveillance and if improvements were not made the children were legally removed from the home. The Children's Aid was also concerned with children who had become "wayward" and girls who were immoral.[103] The Children's Aid, in the disposition of the majority of cases that were handled by them, either put the children in foster homes or returned them to their parents. The Children's Aid worked in the interests of a well ordered society where children, if reported to the Society, were not allowed to be neglected. They were removed from immoral surroundings, taught morality if immoral, brought under control if wayward and given the necessities of life if left destitute. Those who were active in the Society were conscious of the generous support of "the public." The British Protestant leadership in the city supported the work and were well represented among the officers of the Society. In addition to Daniel McIntyre other prominent leaders in the city served on the board of the Children's Aid. Mr. J. H. Ashdown served a term as president and the noted Social Gospel minister Rev. J. S. Woodsworth and Mrs. Woodsworth demonstrated their interest in the work.[104]

Another organization dedicated to child welfare was the Children's Home. It was organized in order to help build "Christ's kingdom on earth" and was regarded as a necessity of Christian civilization to "minister to young life as yet unsullied by sin and selfishness."[105] It received financial support from both the provincial and city governments and a large number of British Protestant charitable organizations. In addition to this, gifts from Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational churches were received. The religious training of the children received very careful attention. They were taken to church regularly and taught in special classes in the Home. The Children's Home worked in close cooperation with the Public School Board. The Board provided for the children's schooling within the Home itself.[106] If there were insufficient numbers of children to warrant placing a teacher in the Home the children attended the nearest school.[107] When the number of children in the Home was large it was found advantageous, by the School Board, to have a school in the Home. When contagious disease appeared in the Home it was then not necessary to withdraw all the children from school.[108]

While much reform work was directed at the younger children and through the children to the adults the YMCA and the YWCA were British Protestant organizations established to meet the needs of young people. They carried on a number of projects similar to those in the public schools.

The YMCA began in Winnipeg in May 16, 1879. The work did not fully mature until a new well-equipped building was opened in 1910. The businessmen of the city had heavily taxed themselves to erect an adequate building in which it was hoped an effective program would be carried on through trained leaders to produce the "all around, sound, good man, morally, mentally, spiritually and physically."[109] The work of the YMCA was outlined by Mr. Haddock, the physical education director, in April 1907. In echoing the idea that the individual was not always responsible for his poverty and degradation, he indicated much could be done to prevent criminality and pauperism. Good character could be formed through games and athletics, and it would manifest itself in self-sacrifice for the good of others. Such good character could serve as an example to young people and would have "unlimited influence" over them. As good character was formed in a young person he would find success in life by finding "his place" and in being able to "uplift our fellowman."[110]

Leaders in the YMCA could be found serving on the Board of

Trade, the School Board and other organizations dominated by British Protestants.[111] The qualifications for these leaders in the YMCA included being earnest Christians, representative of their church and successful in business. In 1890 a convention in Brantford, Ontario set up the following values for a desirable Board member.

1. An earnest Christian of irreproachable character.
2. A successful businessman.
3. A representative man of his church.
4. A man of good judgment, of wide sympathies and all round character.
5. One who is willing to work.
6. One who is interested. 112

A similar organization for women was the YWCA which began in Winnipeg around 1898. The organization grew and by 1905 they too were in the process of obtaining an adequate new building. With the new building it was the aim of the association to meet the needs of "the wage earning young women in our city."[113] Emphasis was placed on cleanliness and practical training for home duties. Sewing, dressmaking, millinery, and basketry were taught. English was also taught as the organization became deeply involved in education in an attempt to meet the needs of the immigrant.[114] Both the YMCA and the YWCA sought to combat the influences of the street by giving new values and goals to the young people. The recreational centers the YMCA and the YWCA opened were examples to educators and others as to what could be done in the schools.

The YMCA through its director of physical education, Mr. Haddock, was instrumental in introducing the Playground Association to the city. Haddock addressed the annual meeting of the Manitoba Educational Association in 1907 and promoted the idea of playgrounds.[115] The idea was taken up by the Mothers' Club, which through one of its committees inaugurated playground work during July and August 1908. They collected $1000, secured the use of the Central School playground and installed "swings, slides, sand pits, tables with outfits, equipment for games"[116] and secured two directors to supervise the playground. A report in the Manitoba Free Press indicated in 1909:

> In Winnipeg it was the Mothers' Association that took steps . . . to give a practical demonstration of playground work, and it was their object, as in the case of the settlement house in Buffalo, to show how necessary and desirable properly equipped playgrounds are. The Buffalo system started out much like Winnipeg's with the use of school grounds. 117

When the Playground Association was formed as a result of the leadership of the Mothers' Association the provincial legislature enacted legislation which enabled the city to appoint a playground commission. The stated aim of the work was to help solve the problem of lawlessness by providing constructive activities wherein rules would be observed, leadership established and laziness overcome. In addition to this it was believed outdoor activity would help overcome disease.[118] It was believed playgrounds were necessary to the welfare of any community and it was in the state's interest to see every little child had the opportunity to play wholesomely and well. In the pursuit of this goal the organization was involved in education and through play sought to teach children

> self-restraint, self-control, self-sacrifice, loyalty to his team or club, the value of organization, self-respect, truthfulness and obedience. 119

The playground work in the city, in addition to having been given its initial thrust by the YMCA was directly related to the schools. The Association was completely dependent on the schools for the use of the school playgrounds and two of its leading council members were noted schoolmen. W. J. Sisler, principal of the Strathcona School in the north end served on the Board and Superintendent McIntyre served as first vice-president of the Association.[120]

An organization that also became significant in Winnipeg was the Sunday School. It was referred to as "the handmaiden of reform" and the Sunday School movement in general was aimed at "the Christianization of America." It had the distinction of being an organization that took everyone into membership from the child in the cradle roll to the adult in the Bible class and held before them the ideal of a "purifying force." The British Protestants saw the Sunday School as a powerful force, so powerful that if it was possible to get everyone into Sunday School the "liquor traffic, political corruption and illiteracy" would cease. Christlike character and righteous citizenship would issue from the work of the Sunday School as it focused on its work of preventing "boys and girls from going where they need to be rescued."[121] It was a factor in nation building for in centering its attention on Bible study it gave prominence to the Bible that, in the opinion of British Protestants, was responsible for the greatness of the Anglo-Saxon race. According to the Sunday School promoters "the Anglo-Saxon race owes its character for justice, its boundless aspirations and its general sanity to the Bible."[122] The British Protestants made a direct connection between their rise in the world and the circulation of what they called "the book of books." The Bible was responsible for "unparalleled . . . human progress and growth of freedom."[123]

Some idea of the influence of the Sunday School in the city of Winnipeg can be gathered from Sunday School statistics for the year 1903. The enrollment in the Presbyterian Sunday Schools was 2,527.

The Methodists recorded an enrollment of 2,700.[124] Taken together the Presbyterian and Methodist churches had enrolled 5,227 children in their Sunday Schools. The total enrollment for the public schools that year was 7,303. The Sunday Schools of just the Presbyterian and Methodists enrolled over 71% of the public school enrollment. While this is significant it must also be considered in the context of the urban situation in Winnipeg where, because of the lack of a compulsory education law in the province, many children were not enrolled in the public schools. The Sunday School workers both in Winnipeg and in the Province were aware of this and called for compulsory education. Since the Sunday School was religious and denominational it could not reach the mass of children. The public school could do so if it had the power to compel children to attend. The Sunday School not only demanded compulsory education but also highly trained teachers and provision for instruction in the English language.[125] If the nation was to be built "leavened . . . with righteous principles" it needed the Sunday School. It also needed the public school.

The organization that was most representative of reform groups in Winnipeg was the Moral and Social Reform Council which was founded in 1907. It was a "federation of the religious and social reform bodies for consultation and cooperation with respect to legislative reform growing out of their common Christianity." While it embraced a number of groups, the leadership in Winnipeg was dominated by Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists.[126] It was concerned with "all aspects of the social evil question including the liquor traffic, gambling and prostitution."[127] This organization was later described in the the Western School Journal as:

> . . . a composite body made up of representatives from churches, schools, philanthropic and social organizations of all kinds. It aims to promote betterment of the people. It is a clearing house for all ideas and plans aiming at social welfare. It gives workers an opportunity to know and appreciate one another in their aims, spirit and methods.[128]

The organizations that were formed for social "betterment" were involved in a "many-sided" attempt to preserve the values of the village past, which were under severe assault by growing industrialism and immigration. Life in the urban environment was perceived to be deteriorating and Owram has indicated that the conception of the west as a hinterland was resisted by the hinterland. He has further indicated that immigration from eastern and southern Europe, though contributing to growth and economic stability, threatened the British vision of the west adding new social tensions and giving to the era its own configuration.[129] As Winnipeg reformers sought for solutions they saw education as playing a major role. It was easy for these reformers to perceive that the public school had a significant role to play in preserving values and rebuilding the community. It was the one institution that was believed to be able to reach all people in the city.

NOTES:

[1] *Manitoba Free Press*, February 1, 1908, p. 4.

[2] Ibid., April 7, 1908, p. 7.

[3] Clarence J. Karier, Paul Violas and Joel Spring, *Roots of Crisis* (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1955), p. 37.

[4] Stewart Crysdale, "The Sociology of the Social Gospel," *The Social Gospel in Canada*, ed. Richard Allen, (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1975), pp. 264-265.

[5] Ronald C. White Jr. and C. Howard Hopkins, *The Social Gospel*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976), p. xii.

[6] Crysdale, "The Sociology," p. 268.

[7] Lionel Orlikow, "A Survey of the Reform Movement in Manitoba, 1910-1920," M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba (1955), p. 40.

[8] G. N. Emery, "The Methodist Church and the 'European Foreigners' of Winnipeg: The All Peoples Mission 1889-1914," in *Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions*, Series 3, no. 28 (1971-1972), p. 92.

[9] *Manitoba Free Press*, December 1, 1897, p. 4.

[10] A. R. McCormack, "Radical Politics in Winnipeg: 1899-1915," in *Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions*, Series 3, no. 29 (1972-1973), p. 86.

[11] Richard Allen, "The Social Gospel and the Reform Tradition in Canada, 1890-1928," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol 49, no. 4 (December 1968), p. 383.

[12] McCormack, "Radical Politics," p. 86.

[13] Allen, "The Social Gospel and the Reform Tradition in Canada," p. 381.

[14] *Manitoba Free Press*, May 21, 1907, p. 11.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid, April 3, 1906, p. 11.

[17] Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1814-1928* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), p. 5.

[18] Richard Allen, "The Background of the Social Gospel in Canada," in The Social Gospel in Canada, ed. Richard Allen (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1975), p. 21.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Manitoba Free Press, June 8, 1908, p. 3.

[21] Ibid., December 7, 1912, p. 3.

[22] Allen, The Social Gospel in Canada, p. 22.

[23] Manitoba Free Press, April 21, 1911.

[24] Benjamin Smillie, "The Social Gospel in Canada, A Theological Critique," in The Social Gospel in Canada, ed. by Richard Allen (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1975), p. 320.

[25] Educational Journal of Western Canada, vol. 4, no. 8 (December 1902), p. 243.

[26] Richard Allen, "The Social Gospel and the Reform Tradition in Canada," p. 387.

[27] Manitoba Free Press, November 23, 1897, p. 3.

[28] Ibid., April 3, 1906, p. 11.

[29] Ibid., May 27, 1907, p. 5.

Robert R. Fletcher was born in Norfolk County, the son of a rural Ontario farmer. After receiving higher education in Toronto and Winnipeg he taught school at Kenora, then lectured at St. Johns college in Winnipeg and later joined the high school staff at Portage la Prairie. In 1908 he was appointed Deputy Minister of Education and used his influential position to promote reform ideas. Winnipeg Tribune, January 1911. Manitoba Scrapbooks, book 4, p. 197, P. A. M.

[30] Smillie, "The Social Gospel," p. 325.

[31] J. H. Riddell, Methodism in the Middle West (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1946), p. 211-212.

[32] S. P. Mosher, "The Social Gospel in British Columbia," M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia (1974). Mosher has argued the concept that was central to the Social Gospel was that God was a loving God who had created everything and had done the job well. This loving God desired the happiness of all His children on earth. The evils of society which brought so much human distress to men's lives were not a part of God's plan. The evils, therefore, were not inseparable from the nature of things but could be eradicated if men would return to the intention of the Creator. Since evils could be eradicated, distressing conditions in society were not inevitable. It was possible to have a

perfected society. It was possible to have the kingdom of God on Earth.

[33] *Manitoba Free Press*, May 29, 1907, p. 7.

[34] Allen, *The Social Gospel in Canada*, p. 27.

[35] Ibid., p. 30.

[36] Ibid., pp. 29-30.

[37] Ibid.

[38] *Manitoba Free Press*, October 15, 1910.

[39] Smillie, "The Social Gospel," p. 320.

[40] Allen, "The Social Gospel and the Reform Tradition in Canada," p. 382.

[41] Allen, *The Social Gospel in Canada*, p. 10-11.

[42] Allen, *The Social Passion*, p. 15.

[43] Ibid., p. 16.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid., p. 15.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Mrs. George Bryce, "The Charitable Institutions of Winnipeg." *Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions*, Series 3, no. 54 (February 21, 1899), p. 25.

[48] Ibid., p. 27.

[49] *Manitoba Free Press*, July 18, 1914. In this article entitled "Florence Nightingale in Winnipeg," there is an account of how Mrs. margaret Scott became involved in mission work. The article also outlines the beginning and development of the Margaret Scott Nursing Mission.

[50] *Manitoba Free Press*, May 27, 1907, p. 5.

[51] Alan F. J. Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth 1874-1914*. (Montreal and London: McGill-Queens University Press, 1975).

[52] Mosher, "The Social Gospel," p. 11.

[53] M. Vipond, "Blessed are the Peacemakers: The Labour Question in Canadian Social Gospel Fiction," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 10, no. 3 (August 1975), p. 32

[54] Ibid.

[55] Mosher, "The Social Gospel," p. 11.

[56] McCormack, "Radical Politics," p. 94.

[57] Department of Education, *Annual Report*, 1908, p. 420.

[58] *Western School Journal*, vol 3, no. 9 (November 1908), p. 327.

[59] *Manitoba Free Press*, April 7, 1908, p. 7.

[60] Paul Rutherford, "Tomorrow's Metropolis: The Urban Reform Movement in Canada, 1880-1920," in *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History*, ed. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F. J. Artibise (Toronto, 1977), p. 216.

[61] *Manitoba Free Press*, April 24, 1897, p. 8.

[62] Ibid., May 16, 1907, p. 5.

[63] Joy Cooper, "Red Lights of Winnipeg," *Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions*, Series 3, no. 27 (1970-1971), p. 63.

[64] *Manitoba Free Press*, May 15, 1907, p. 5.

[65] Cooper, "Red Lights," p. 63.

[66] *Manitoba Free Press*, May 15, 1907, p. 6.

[67] Ibid., July 10, 1914.

[68] Ibid., May 10, 1904.

[69] Ibid., July 10, 1914.

[70] Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History*, p. 192.

[71] *Manitoba Free Press*, July 10, 1914.

[72] Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History*, p. 192.

[73] Ibid., p. 190.

[74] Ibid.

[75] *Manitoba Free Press*, July 10, 1914.

[76] Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History, p. 192.

[77] Manitoba Free Press, July 10, 1914.

[78] Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History, p. 192.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Manitoba Free Press, July 10, 1914.

[81] Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History, p. 237.

[82] Manitoba Free Press, July 10, 1914.

[83] Marilyn Barber, "An Introduction" in J. S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates or Coming Canadians (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. ix

[84] G N. Emery, "The Methodist Church," p. 88.

[85] Manitoba Free Press, November 1, 1904.

[86] Emery, "The Methodist Church," p. 89.

[87] Barber, p. ix.

[88] Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History, p. 192

[89] Ibid., p. 193.

[90] Emery, p. 96.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Ibid., p. 97.

[93] J. S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, p. 281.

[94] Ibid., p. 285.

[95] Emery, "The Methodist Church," p. 96.

[96] Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History, p. 199.

[97] Manitoba Free Press, April 24, 1897, p. 8.

[98] Mrs. George Bryce, "Charitable Institutions," p. 24.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid.

[101] The Children's Aid Society of Winnipeg, Organization and Incorporation, July 1958, (Records of the Children's Aid Society, Winnipeg 1898-1937: Winnipeg, Manitoba).

[102] Manitoba Free Press, December 10, 1904.

[103] Ibid., November 1, 1898.

[104] Ibid., December 9, 1908.

[105] Ibid., January 17, 1896, p. 3.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report 1895, p. 27.

[108] Ibid., 1904, p. 13.

[109] Manitoba Free Press, January 18, 1901, p. 67.

[110] Ibid., April 6, 1907, p. 11.

[111] Ibid.

[112] M. G. Ross, The Young Men's Christian Association in Canada (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1951), p. 19.

[113] Manitoba Free Press, May 9, 1908, p. 19.

[114] Ibid.

[115] Ibid., April 6, 1907, p. 11.

[116] Western School Journal, vol. 7 (September 1910), p. 226.

[117] Manitoba Free Press, March 23, 1909.

[118] Western School Journal, vol. 7 (September 1910), p. 226.

[119] Manitoba Free Press, October 10, 1908, p. 24.

[120] Ibid., April 16, 1909, p. 18.

[121] Manitoba Free Press, December 7, 1912, p. 3.

[122] Ibid.

[123] Ibid.

[124] Ibid., January 2, 1903, p. 6.

[125] Ibid.

[126] Cooper, "Red Lights," p. 64.

[127] Ibid.

[128] *Western School Journal*, vol. 12, no. 10 (December 1917), p. 33.

[129] Douglas Owram, *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West 1856-1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), p. 224.

CHAPTER IV

Pursuing the Homogeneous Society

This chapter will focus on the attempt by reform minded educational leaders in Winnipeg, who, in the face of a growing urban population in which they perceived diversity, both in industrial and in general social relationships, sought to make use of the schools to mould the population so the British values of the small homogeneous village of the past would prevail.

As 1890 dawned in Winnipeg there was a dual system of French Catholic and English Protestant schools. The English Protestant schools had responded to a growing population and developed a system of thirteen schools to serve a school enrollment of around 4,000 pupils. A considerable amount of what may be called "bureaucratic organization" had developed as a rational organization was sought to carry on schooling.

This organization involved some measure of complexity and size in which there had developed centralization of control and supervision, differentiation of function, qualification for office and rules defining behavior patterns of members of the organization such as objectivity, precision and consistency and discretion. The centralization of control was evident in a board of twelve members who represented six wards in the city. They were elected for a two year term with the term of six members expiring each year.[1] Differentiated function was recognized on the board as it was divided into four committees, finance, school management, building and printing and supplies with each committee having clearly defined duties to fulfill.[2] Centralized supervision was also recognized through a superintendent who had a differentiated function and special qualifications for office. He was given direct oversight of the schools and, like the school board members, he had his duties clearly outlined. Similarly a secretary treasurer served in a differentiated function and had his duties outlined. The greatest number of personnel in the school system were the teachers who numbered 61 in 1890. They were divided into two groups, head teachers or principals and regular classroom teachers. Both the head teachers and the regular teachers had their duties outlined in a manner similar to other personnel in the school system.[3]

Wiebe has shown that when a transition took place from a small community where "affairs were arranged informally" to urban industrial life with its undirected social forces, a regulative and hierarchical scheme was developed to meet the needs of society. "Through rules and impersonal sanctions [continuity was sought] in a world of endless change."[4]

With the "world of endless change" engulfing the city of Winnipeg, concern over what was perceived to be the divisive nature of the dual system of schooling became evident. The dominant British majority in the city believed that the existence of the French language and denominationally separate schools militated against the building of a united Canada. Morton has observed that a fear of "political Catholicism" had reached the west as a result of the passing of the Jesuit Estates Act in 1888. Coupled with this, according to Morton, was a growing feeling that a heterogeneous population was beginning to develop and "a uniform nationality [should be sought] through the agency of a 'National' school system."[5] Through sheer force of numbers the British Protestants were able to obtain legislation abolishing the dual system of schooling. This legislation enabled them to establish one system of schooling with one common English language. In April 1890 the Winnipeg Protestant School Board received the following communication from the provincial Superintendent of Education.

> On the first of May the Catholic School Board will cease to exist and the Protestant School Board will become the Public School Board of the city. The members of the present Protestant School Board will continue in office as Public School Trustees for the remainder of their respective terms. After the first of May all moneys due to the Catholic School Board on the levy of 1890 will belong and be payable to the Public School Board. 6

The Protestant School Board, having become the one public school board in the city, provided Winnipeg not only with a well organized school system. It also provided the city with a completely centralized public education system.

The membership of the Board in this system in the early period of its existence, at least prior to World War I, was exclusively a male association consisting of individuals with similar rural, small town upbringing and common ethnic, religious backgrounds. Generally, they were educated in small towns, or rural schools of Ontario; a few pursued university education. They belonged for the most part to the Presbyterian and Methodist churches and in the main had left the location of their childhood in favor of the adventure and opportunity of a burgeoning city in the west. They tended to distinguish themselves as successful, self-made businessmen in a new environment. The commonality of their experience led them to provide an essentially unified voice in support of educational policies and provisions which served to promote values favoring the building of a homogeneous society.[7]

As Dr. George Bryce reflected on the Board and the whole school system in 1893 he indicated that the problem facing Manitoba was unique. According to Bryce there were a considerable number of foreign speaking people who had come to reside in the west. The French had Catholic schools and exhibited a narrow divisive spirit. In addition to this, many foreigners were careless about education and educational leaders believed that some action needed to be taken to meet these problems. The action taken was to create one public school system "and provide one public school for every locality" in which a vigorous effort could be made "to rear up a homogeneous Canadian people."[8] This homogeneous people was perceived by Bryce as possessing the spirit of the Canadian nationalist which was the same spirit that "animates the lover of the Empire." The people were also perceived to possess the British Protestant heritage represented in Wycliffe, Knox, Wesley and others. They were also a people who manifested "an increasing interest in the public morals" which was believed to indicate "good things for Canada in the future."[9] The reformer's commitment to the one English public school system established by the 1890 school legislation, became apparent when they ignored compromise legislation which was passed in 1897. The legislation stated, in part, that when ten pupils in any school spoke French or any other language other than English as their native tongue they were to be taught in French or in the other language on a bilingual system.[10] The Winnipeg educational leaders simply ignored the legislation and allowed no language other than English to be used in the city's public schools.[11]

Buildings

One of the first things to which educational leaders gave attention in their quest for an homogeneous society was the provision of school buildings in which a model environment could be created to promote the values of the British Protestant village of the past. Robert Wiebe has indicated that mid 19th century cities were largely "island communities" isolated from each other and their educators, provincial in orientation, constructed model environments around children in their impressionable years. As educators in Winnipeg sought the model environment they had a number of educational journals available that gave information on educational innovations elsewhere. They sent Superintendent McIntyre to Canadian and American educational centers to examine the educational innovations that had been publicized, especially those that related to heating, ventilation and latrine accommodation in school buildings.[12] After obtaining the latest information on school construction McIntyre stated: "The school should help to create ideals and building and grounds are educative in their effect in a right or wrong direction."[13]

In order to educate in a "right" direction the Board embarked on a building program to provide one school building for all boys and girls in local areas of the city. They believed that if there was to be one British oriented people there would have to be one building in a locality to encourage unity among the people. This, however, required the construction of buildings that were very large compared to those built in the past for the school enrollment was rapidly increasing and already stood at 4,000 pupils.[14] The first new building to be constructed was the Fort Rouge School which was built in 1891 to serve a sparsely populated fringe area in the southern part of the city. It was two stories high, contained four classrooms and could accommodate 200 pupils.[15] But this was just the beginning of new school construction, for the next year two more new schools were opened. There had been no collegiate building in the city prior to 1890 so a three storey, ten room building to accommodate 500 was built to serve the needs of high school students.[16] There was also a new elementary school constructed; the North Central (later called Norquay) which also had ten rooms and could accommodate 500 pupils.[17] The new North Central School set the pattern for new school buildings for not only was it a large building but the attempt to create a model environment had led reformers to construct a complex building which involved special expertise in planning and construction. The day of the simple school building had passed for when the North Central School was built, James Scroggie, a School Board member remarked:

> . . . the board had a first class architect, also a first class contractor, still a great deal of time and attention of the chairman of the building committee had been taken. A great deal of credit was due to Dr. Benson, chairman of the school management committee; also to the worthy Superintendent, Mr. D. McIntyre for the attention he had given to all the details, the proper laying out of the rooms etc. 18

This is an early indication that as an attempt was made to accommodate larger numbers in the schools, changes were taking place. Educational leaders embraced a characteristic of bureaucratic development--dependence on the expert.

The careful planning of the "experts" resulted in a whole new system of heating, ventilation and sanitary facilities. These new appliances, which had all been installed in the Fort Rouge School and the Collegiate, were described as "a great improvement in the sanitary condition of the schoolrooms."[19] There were "closets" in each school building and a heating system which was able to maintain the temperature in a schoolroom to the exact degree desired. In addition to this the ventilation system produced to exact measurements of twenty to twenty-five cubic feet of fresh air per minute for each pupil.[20] In 1892 when this system was placed in the newly constructed North Central School "parents and citizens" attending the opening ceremony were invited to examine the appliances for heating and ventilation and "see that everything possible was being done" to secure a healthful environment in school buildings.[21] The building was described as "the finest in the city" and "a beautiful building that [is] an ornament to the whole city."[22] When the doors of the building were opened to the children of the community it took only ten days until the building was not only full, but overcrowded.

The School Board, in noting this, indicated they would have to "continue in the building line" and committed themselves to placing accommodation in "every part of the city," in order to provide for an effícient school system. They did not doubt that such expansion of educational facilities would create a "heavy financial strain" but Dr. E. Benson, chairman of the School Board, suggested that the expense was worth it for the new buildings were "superior for teaching children in more than book knowledge." He did not think anyone would want to go back to the old "log schoolhouse" just to save taxes. Benson took special note there were now no complaints heard of children destroying school furniture and indicated that children took the same pride in the building as did the teachers. He stated that the aim of the board was "to provide convenient, commodious, comfortable, well lighted and well heated buildings."[23] In pursuit of this aim the Board had turned their backs on the simple one room schoolhouse of their idealized past. They had also left behind the close personal relationships of those small buildings and substituted for those relationships a more impersonal environment.

The men who were introducing changes in the school buildings and who were committed to placing school buildings in all parts of the city, were facing a population growth that had increased by nearly 10,000 between 1890 and 1893. This growth was reflected in an increase of about 1,200 in the school enrollment in the same period of time.[24] In order to meet the growing need for school accommodation, further school building was pursued and the Aberdeen School was opened in north Winnipeg.

The School Board became aware that the building program was now becoming a complex task which was more than their present organization could handle. They, therefore, expanded the organization with the appointment of a Building and Supply Agent who was to act as the executive officer of the building committee. The pressure of building requirements had now led the educational leadership of the schools to the expansion of the organizational bureaucracy in the centralized administration of the public schools. A new position had been created which was differentiated in function and provided centralized supervision of the building program. It appears that this bureaucratic organization was identified by the Board as related to the business bureaucracy in the city. They indicated that the creation of the new office would enable them to to put their building program on "a business footing." They also expressed the belief that the business community would take note of the new appointment and approve of the businesslike approach that the Board was taking in carrying out their work.[25]

The interest in the efficiency of the school organization, so that it would receive the approval of business industrial society, indicates the influence in Winnipeg of what Callahan has called "the efficiency movement." School structures were being modeled on the administrative structure of the industrial plant.[26]

Even though educational administrators perceived themselves as approaching the challenge of providing new buildings in a businesslike manner, they were not able to keep up to the increasing needs of the city. Facilities had to be rented to accommodate the children. This was not regarded as anything but a temporary measure for the Building Committee reported, "It is in the matter of the erection of new buildings . . . that the energies of your committee were mainly occupied."[27]

It is not surprising that the renting of space for classes was not regarded as anything but a temporary measure for it clearly removed children from the model environment of the carefully planned school building. New buildings similar to the North Central School were constructed and in 1895 three schools, each accommodating 500 pupils, were opened. When these new schools were opened every room was reported to be filled as soon as the schools began to function.

The pressure of numbers caused the Board to give careful consideration to the matter of inculcating orderly behavior. It was clearly not enough to create an environment that was spacious, healthful and beautiful; there needed to be order. In 1896, with school enrollment at 6,374,[28] the educational reformers reported changed building designs that made the buildings still more complex. Orderly behavior patterns and the elimination of confusion were pursued by the use of cloakroom design, water fountain placement and electric bells. Cloakrooms became a part of each schoolroom, drinking fountains were installed in each classroom and each classroom was connected with the principal's room by a system of electric bells. The new cloakroom design was to keep clothing at room temperature and enable children "to obtain the clothes in an orderly manner by passing in at one opening, through the room and coming out at the other opening, thus doing away with all confusion and jostling."[29] The water fountains were placed in the classrooms and prevented "the confusion and loss of time that inevitably occurs when the water supply is outside the classroom." The electric bells enabled the principal "to control the movements of the entire school in assembling and dismissing."[30] The order that was achieved by these innovations bore a closer resemblance to the factory of the urban industrial environment than to the order of the small rural village of the past.

When the educational authorities surveyed their school buildings in 1899 they expressed satisfaction at their suitability for school purposes. They referred to "well arranged rooms and cloakrooms . . . ample floor space . . . good heating and ventilating appliances . . . and well distributed light [making] them entirely fit from a sanitary point of view." These leaders went on to note the finishing in the buildings and "the pleasant effect of the coloring in the furniture,

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walls and ceilings" which was believed to be important in exercising an educational influence on children. The lack of museums, picture galleries and other agencies in the city was noted by educational leaders as putting a greater responsibility on the schools to exhibit what was necessary for the "cultivation of taste."[31] Yet while these engineers of change had expressed satisfaction with their school buildings the Educational Journal of Western Canada carried an article in 1900 that referred to modern school buildings as "a prison with isolated cells for each pupil."[32] The reformers had sought to produce a model environment but in doing so they had created a structure that so restricted its occupants that some saw it as resembling "a prison."

Nevertheless in 1901 the pattern of the past was continued. The Somerset School was opened and was reported in the press to be "almost an exact reproduction of the modern buildings which it has been the policy of the Board for several years to erect. . . ."[33] The North Central School of 1892 had indeed set the pattern for the three storey, ten room, brick and stone structures that were being built.

It was not only the buildings that were given special attention in those years, but the grounds on which they were placed also received careful consideration. First they had to be "large grounds" in order to accommodate the increased number of people in the large school buildings. Superintendent McIntyre commended the School Board in 1891 for exercising "wise prevision" in securing grounds large enough to provide play areas for the children.[34] Secondly they had to be "beautiful" so that they could be "educative in . . . a right . . . direction."[35] When D. J. Goggin spoke at the opening of the new North Central School in 1892 he expressed his pleasure at seeing how the School Board had provided "large grounds" for the school building. He also took special note of a new tree planting program that had been started and how the School Board had begun to provide "a series of little parks" for the time when the city population would increase still further.[37]

Tree planting on school grounds received high priority in the 1890s and a small tree farm was established on the grounds of Central School No. 1 to supply trees for the schools. After its first full year of operation in 1891 it had supplied the schools with "800 healthy saplings."[38] In 1893 trees were secured from the Charles City Nursery and from the supply on the Central School ground. There were 714 trees placed in school yards that year.[39] The next year 1,800 trees were planted on school property in an attempt, according to the Building Committee, to beautify the school grounds according to "true nature."[40] By 1897 the Winnipeg school system took another step in the tree growing business by establishing a small tree farm on the Mulvey School site in order to secure an adequate supply of trees for school grounds.[41]

In addition to the planting of trees, school grounds were leveled, sodded and fenced[42] with wooden fences.[43] While the fences were initially associated with the idea of beautifying school grounds, by 1904, when the school buildings were being crowded beyond capacity,[44] the Board report made reference to "large numbers of children" and "the restraint of the fence"[45] which would keep children from adjoining boulevards. There was a question at this time concerning the replacement of wood fences with fences made of iron.[46] Iron began to be used in 1905[47] and by 1908 new school grounds were being enclosed by iron fences.[48]

While the educational leaders were seeking to preserve values of the idealized past by attempting to reproduce the rural countryside or "true nature" in the city, they actually established a corral. The child was free to move around but only within certain limits. It was a situation far removed from the freedom of the "open spaces" of the countryside.

As the school leadership attempted to preserve their values by developing buildings and grounds they became aware of an increased diversity in the city in 1897. On the occasion of Queen Victoria's Jubilee celebration it was noted that children of the city expressed loyalty to the Queen in "ten languages spoken as the native languages of the children." These children were referred to as "diverse in origin, diverse in speech and differing in faith."[49] Dr. George Bryce, observed the schools in the city and saw children of "thirteen different tongues" sitting side by side breathing what he perceived to be "one national spirit."[50] It is not surprising, then, that a scheme was introduced in 1898 that would identify the school buildings with outstanding British personalities as an aid to fostering "one national spirit." The names of many of the schools were changed. A flexible policy had been followed in earlier years which saw schools named after their localities or after some notable person who was perceived to be worthy of honor. Schools had been named Louise Street, Carlton Street, Euclid Street, Central, Pembina and Fort Rouge. Other schools honored individuals who were either known locally or nationally. There were names like Machray, Mulvey, Aberdeen, Dufferin and Argyle. When the new policy on school names was introduced, Central School No. 1 and No. 2 became Victoria and Albert. North Central School became Norquay and Pembina became Gladstone. The year the names of older schools were changed two new schools opened and were called Isbister and Wellington.[51] These were followed by names like Somerset, Alexander, Strathcona and John M. King and in 1908 names like King Edward, Lord Selkirk and Cecil Rhodes appeared.[52] In 1909 George Chipman stated in the Canadian Magazine:

> The school population in the "foreign quarter" [of Winnipeg] is very large and increases more rapidly than in any other quarter of the city. A scheme has been adopted of naming various schools after men of eminence, and the names of King Edward, Strathcona, Lord Selkirk and Cecil Rhodes will in themselves come to mean something to the foreign children in days to come, as they daily see the names over the portals of their school and learn their significance. 53

The educational authorities had designed buildings to create an environment which was perceived to be healthful, orderly and conducive to inculcating a commitment of loyalty to Britain and the values associated with Britain as represented in the people whose names were attached to the schools. But that environment was placed under great stress between 1900 and 1907. The population of Winnipeg had grown from 42,543 in 1900 to 111,729 in 1907.[54] A significant portion of this growth took place in the north end as population in that area rose from from 14,592 to 43,527.[55] As the whole city grew in population the schools became greatly overcrowded. Children were placed in accommodations that educational leaders described as "insufficient and unsuitable." But even the accommodations that had once been regarded as sufficient and suitable suffered under the pressure of numbers. This was especially true in immigrant areas of the city. In 1900 in the Norquay School in the north end a mixed grade three and four class had 46.42 on the roll. A grade one class had 50 pupils on the roll. By

1906, when the north end had 43.1% of the city's population, one grade one class had 66 enrolled and a grade two class had an average attendance of 79 for the fall months.[56] The appliances that were installed to provide a healthful atmosphere could hardly cope with the masses of immigrants. Sybil Shack has described many of these immigrant children. She has noted that for these children

> Baths were luxuries which could be afforded only by the wealthy who had plenty of heat and water and a bathroom . . . the children could not have been as clean as we expect our children to be. Moreover, a staple of their diet was goose fat and garlic rubbed on black bread . . . woolen socks, wet felt boots, goose fat did nothing to sweeten the air in the classroom. 57

Ideas that had been gathered from other school systems were quickly incorporated into plans for the new school buildings as educators continued to seek to provide the model environment. The Luxton School in north Winnipeg broke from the ten room pattern and increased in size to twelve classrooms in 1907.[58] Provision was made for practical work in a "manual training department in which a (sic) new equipment was placed."[59] This added a further degree of complexity to the school building program.

It was at this time that the Manitoba Free Press, in appealing to its city readers to support the School Board's decision to borrow $600,000 to build new schools, directly linked the building program to the perceived need to educate immigrants. According to the press, buildings were needed to accommodate those whose "civilization and habits . . . do not conform to Canadian standards."[60] The money was obtained and the School Board embarked on "the most strenuous year" in the history of the Board as they sought to provide "suitable rooms" for the growing school population.

In providing these "suitable rooms" the School Board had three new school buildings constructed in 1908. These buildings, the Cecil Rhodes, Lord Selkirk and King Edward, were described as marking "a distinct era" in school architecture. They embodied what were called the "latest ideas" and made provision for hand work, personal cleanliness and safety. The buildings were two storeys in height, and had manual training rooms and shower baths in the basement. The idea of shower baths was described as "coming from Europe and gaining ground in America as a recognized necessity."[61] The buildings were also equipped with steam heating apparatus with direct radiation supplemented by mechanical ventilation. The latest in fireproof construction was incorporated into each building and outdoor fire escapes, which enabled the building to be evacuated in under two minutes, were also installed.[62] The buildings were believed to be "the finest" and "most magnificent" structures "standing for beauty" in the community.[63] The educational leaders believed:

> The appearance of the buildings themselves has a good effect upon the impressionable mind of the child. This is especially true of those children in the more congested parts of the city whose parents have brought with them a civilization and habits of life that do not conform to Canadian standards. 64

At the cornerstone laying of one of the new buildings, the King Edward, W. Sanford Evans, mayor of the city, referred to the building as "a branch of the great educational factory of the nation." He went on declare "among all the industries there [is] none so important as that which [takes] the raw material and [moulds] it into intelligent and useful citizens."[65]

Wiebe has indicated that as bureaucratic ideas began to take hold in an urban-industrial world men began to think "in terms of a complex social technology, of a mechanized and systematized factory."[66] This appears to have been taking place in Winnipeg.

As these ideas permeated the school leadership in Winnipeg W. A. McIntyre commended the School Board for their efficiency. He also noted the Board was "so impartial and wise" in erecting permanent buildings and making sure no part of the city was neglected.[67] It is difficult to accurately assess this statement for the statistics that break the city into districts are limited. They consist of a comparison of population growth, in intervals of five to six years between 1885 and 1912, for the central core, north end, and south and west ends. These statistics have been prepared by Artibise and are shown in Winnipeg: a Social History. Though they are limited it is possible to use them, as they relate to each district in the city, and by comparing the number of classrooms provided for each district, as recorded in the Winnipeg Public School Board Annual Reports 1895-1908, receive some insight into the provision of school facilities throughout the city. Comparative figures can be seen in Table IV-1.

Table IV-1

Comparative City Population Figures According to Area
With the Provision of School Rooms For Each Area

Year	No. of rooms	% of rooms	Population	% of Population	% Increase of rooms
NORTH END					
1895	47	43.1	12,164	35.6	-
1900	52	36.6	14,592	36.8	15.1
1906	78	39.4	43,527	43.1	46.4
1908	100	40.5	-	-	44.9
CENTRAL					
1895	43	39.4	16,211	59.7	-
1900	60	42.2	18,160	46.1	51.5
1906	70	35.3	32,252	31.9	17.8
1908	80	32.3	-	-	20.4
SOUTH AND WEST AREAS					
1895	19	17.4	5,749	16.9	-
1900	30	21.2	6,782	17.1	33.3
1906	50	25.2	25,278	25.0	35.7
1908	67	27.2	-	-	34.6

[68]

In the calculation of the number of classrooms in the city the high school is excluded so the 247 classrooms in 1908 are elementary classrooms which provided for an enrollment of approximately 14,505 and a daily average attendance of a little over 10,000. It would appear that there was a fairly equitable distribution of classrooms according to population. In 1907 the Winnipeg Public School Board began publishing enrollment statistics by individual schools and individual grades from 1 to 8. This makes it possible to calculate the enrollment in the various schools according to areas and make a comparison between the number of classrooms and the enrollment in each area. The 100 classrooms in the north end wards 5, 6 and 7 accounted for 40.5% of the classrooms in the city and served an enrollment of approximately 5,310 or 36.6% of the total enrollment in the city. The 80 classrooms in the central area wards 2 and 4 made up 32.5% of the city's classrooms and served an enrollment of approximately 5,746 or 39.6% of the city's total enrollment. The 67 classrooms in the south end wards 1 and 3 represented 27.2% of the classrooms in the city and provided for an enrollment of approximately 3,449 or 23.7% of the city's total enrollment.[69] When one considers the rapid and uneven growth of the various areas it would appear there was a fairly equitable distribution of school rooms in relation to school enrollment with the north end having a slight advantage and the central area falling somewhat behind.

In 1895 the north end had a disproportionate amount of school space in relation to its percentage of the population. In 1899, prior to the arrival of masses of foreign immigrants in the area, the Manitoba Free Press carried a report indicating the northern section of the city was regarded as a key area in the developing urban center and had a larger proportion of the schools in the city.[70] As foreign immigrants poured into the area the proportion of school space declined, however, by 1908 the north end, with a school enrollment of 36.6% of the total city enrollment, had 40.5% of the school rooms. This higher number of school rooms provided for a higher number of people in the area when compared with the rest of the city. In 1906 there was 43.1% of the city population in the north end and though no population figures can be supplied for the area, in 1908 it would appear from statistics of population distribution by districts compiled by Artibise in Winnipeg: A Social History and shown here in Table IV-2 that the north end still had a higher percentage of city population, even though it was moving toward a balance with other areas in 1912.

Table IV-2

Population Distribution by Districts, 1885-1912

	Central Core		North End		South and West Ends	
Years	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1885	11,793	59.7	6,880	34.9	1,063	5.4
1890	13,778	60.0	7,819	33.9	1,403	6.1
1895	16,211	47.5	12,164	35.6	5,749	16.9
1900	18,160	46.1	14,592	36.8	6,782	17.1
1906	32,252	31.9	43,527	43.1	25,278	25.0
1912	63,009	34.1	62,503	33.8	59,218	32.1

[71]

This higher percentage of population did not appear, at this time, to translate into a school enrollment equal to the percentage of the population. Assuming that the number of children in families was fairly equal throughout the city it would seem that there were fewer school age children in relation to population in school in the north end than in other parts of the city in 1908. Nevertheless, those who lived in the north end had a somewhat larger share of the school space. Educational leaders did not neglect the area that appeared to have the greatest need of the homogenizing influence of the schools. During the period between 1890 and 1908 the number of school buildings in the city grew from twelve to thirty-four,[72] and it would appear that they were fairly evenly distributed throughout the city.[73]

Teachers

Even though much attention had been given to school buildings the school administration saw such buildings as ineffective unless they were staffed by the "right" kind of teacher. Superintendent McIntyre indicated in 1891:

> . . . the all pervading force unifying and directing the entire system is the teacher. From him radiates the influence that awakens curiosity, quickens the intellect and stimulates and strengthens the faltering purpose of childhood. No excellence of material conditions . . . can compensate for defects in the composition of the teaching staff. 74

Since the role of the teacher was perceived to be so important "the greatest care" was exercised in selecting teachers. The School Board stated in 1897:

> As in former years, the avowed aim of the work in all departments of the schools has been to train pupils in right habits and inculcate right principles, as well as to give them instruction in useful learning. This development of character can be accomplished only through the agency of skillful teachers, who exemplify in their own lives what it is desired to put into the lives of the children. On this account your committee have endeavored to exercise the greatest care in the selection of teachers to fill positions on the staff. 75

One of the important considerations in selecting teachers was their British background. If it was important to name buildings after notable British personalities it was no less important to select British teachers who could contribute to a patriotic environment in the schools. In 1891 Superintendent McIntyre indicated that there were two outside sources of teachers for the city. One source was "the older provinces" from which the majority British group in the city had come. The other source was "the motherland."[76] In either case the teachers would be British but McIntyre believed it was more desirable to give "our own young people" training so they could teach in Winnipeg schools.[77] "Our own young people" were clearly those from British families. While it is not possible to trace the background of the teachers in the schools it would appear that a selection procedure did give preference to "our own young people." In 1896 there were ninety-six teachers on the staff of Winnipeg schools and seventy-eight had received professional training in Winnipeg. Among the others were fourteen who came from Ontario, three who came from New Brunswick and one who had come from Nova Scotia.[78] In any case these were British teachers. An examination of the record of the teachers' roster that year reveals that the teachers' names, almost without exception, can be identified as British.

What these teachers were to be was frequently made public in the city. A summary was carried in the Educational Journal of Western Canada which stated that the teacher was to be neat and tidy. She was to display "good taste" in dress, be polite and have a "sense of order." She was to be "dignified, earnest, active, simple, yet elegant in dress, noble in thought, refined in manner, great in mind, rich in sympathy," and possess the grand quality of truthfulness. Her life was to be of such quality that it would point "upward to Him, the Great Teacher."[79]

It was believed that a teacher with these qualities could so influence pupils and gain the cooperation of parents that a high level of regular attendance at school could be registered for each pupil.[80] Then with the pupils in attendance the influence of the teacher's life could help to envelop the child in the "right" kind of environment. Educational leaders indicated "many of the best results of education flow from the silent influence of the teacher's personality,"[81] and their work was to be seen "in the light of a mission."[82] Superintendent McIntyre expressed the belief that through "subtle communication" the influence of a teacher's personality could impress "thoughts and ideals upon the children."[83] These views were also widely shared in the community. The physical education director of the YMCA indicated the example of the teachers had "unlimited influence" over pupils.[84] Rev. W. J. McMillan left no doubt as to the substance of this "unlimited influence." He noted that while religion could not be taught in the schools character could be taught and the example of the public school teacher was the most important part of the teaching.[85]

This "character" that was to be taught was clearly British Protestant character. The educational leaders stated that "too much care cannot be exercised" in the selection of teachers.[86] In the exercise of this "care" in 1896 it became evident that none but a British Protestant had any opportunity in serving on the Winnipeg school staff. A Miss McShane resigned her teaching position and the school management committee appointed Miss Edith McCrossan to fill the vacancy. It was, however, made known to the Board that "a Catholic young lady" who remained unnamed had also applied for the position and "had papers qualifying her for the position." There was some discussion that took place on the Board with the result that "Miss McCrossan received the appointment as recommended by the committee."[87] When Archdeacon Fortin of the Anglican church spoke of Winnipeg teachers in an address, in which he clearly expressed his anti-Catholic position, he stated his belief that all Winnipeg teachers were Christian men and women and among them were "some of our best, most effective, most loyal church workers."[88] He indicated that such teachers could not but have "a salutary and beneficial influence on the youth of our city."[89] When reform minded educational leaders established this limited access to the public teaching staff in Winnipeg they were seeking to preserve their values, but in so doing they limited individual opportunity. The rigid selection system that now prevailed was unknown in the village of the past.

But it was not enough to have a selection system to provide exemplary lives in the classroom. The teachers also had to have

> . . . knowledge of the subjects of instruction, acquaintance with the laws of mental growth, familiarity with the best methods of applying them and . . . insight into child life.[90]

A new pedagogy was making an appearance in the schools as the Board began to introduce new subjects to provide the home with what the home could no longer provide in the urban environment. These subjects added interest and activity to the school program as they were added to the traditional academic subjects. It was now necessary for teachers not only to understand classroom subject matter but to understand children as well. There had to be "insight into child life." Just prior to 1890 some of the regular teaching staff of the Winnipeg schools were absent for the fall months "taking a course of professional training at the Normal School."[91] This was done on a voluntary basis but by 1896 professional training had become mandatory for those who wanted to teach in the Winnipeg schools. In 1896 when a report was given on the ninety-six teachers on staff that year everyone was "professionally trained and held either first or second class certificates."[92] Qualification for office, another distinguishing mark of bureaucratic organization, was now an important part of the Winnipeg public schools. As early as 1891 a regulation was passed that determined only those with a first class certificate could teach beyond grade four level except

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under exceptional circumstances.[93] In addition to this, the new subjects that were added to the curriculum brought with them specialist teachers. The specialist teacher was to instruct teachers in the teaching of the new subject and supervise the teaching of it in the schools.[94] The position of Head Teacher (Principal) had already been established and he had the responsibility of supervision over all the teachers in his school while still teaching his own classes. The emphasis on supervision in the schools was, like qualification for office, an evidence of bureaucratic development that educational leaders found necessary to adopt in order to achieve their goals. This bureaucratic development bore similarities to what Tyack has referred to as an "old fashioned military model of bureaucracy" in which hierarchy depended more on power than on function.[95] While it is true that the special subject supervisors functioned in a different manner from the regular teachers, they were a small minority of the school staff. The main supervision was found in the principal who exercised power in his school but also taught like other teachers. This system, that was now a part of the schools, greatly limited the freedom teachers once had in simpler times when the rural one room school was in operation. The limitations became further apparent in 1894 when bureaucratic "rules and regulations" were passed to control the behavior patterns of teachers in the administration of corporal punishment. The teachers' freedom to administer corporal punishment was curtailed. It was now necessary for the teacher to obtain permission from the principal before administering any corporal punishment. This punishment could only be administered to the palm of the hand with a "suitable strap" and a report had to be immediately submitted to the principal of the school

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on a specially prepared form. This form contained the pupil's name, particulars of the offence and the particulars of the punishment.[96]

As teachers were increasingly being locked into a system the power of the Superintendent was gradually increasing. The appearance of a new pedagogy and the higher qualifications for teachers turned the School Board more and more to depend on the Superintendent of Schools to administer the technical aspects of schooling. They saw him as an "expert" educator and referred to him in 1892 as "the worthy Superintendent" and "the best Superintendent the country could produce."[97] He had years of experience as a teacher and Superintendent in New Brunswick and was engaged in degree work at the University of Manitoba.[98] In 1890 some unnamed people attempted to limit the Superintendent's power when he supported one applicant over another for a teaching position. They were not successful, for the Superintendent received the full support of the Board.[99] A few years later in 1896 the Superintendent passed over teachers on the Winnipeg school staff to hire a teacher from "the territory" for an upper level elementary position. Complaints were made by unnamed people indicating that they believed a teacher on the current staff should have been given the opportunity to be "promoted." The Superintendent explained to the Board the reason for his action and they gave him their full support.[100] The Board members readily deferred to the judgment of "the professional" as they perceived themselves to be without the necessary expertise when it came to technical matters in the school system. In the 1890s the traditional participation of a School Board member in the examination procedure of the Collegiate was terminated without any evidence of resistance by the Board member or the Board. The oral examination committee of the

Collegiate had consisted of the Superintendent, the Collegiate principal and a trustee. The committee was reorganized and the trustee dropped from the committee with the explanation that he did not possess "the qualifications" for such work.[101] In 1900 the Superintendent questioned the behavior of a teacher and dismissed her from the teaching staff. He was publicly criticized for his action by a vocal minority but received the full support of the School Board. The Board members indicated they were not "technical educationists" and had to rely on their Superintendent.[102] A disgruntled taxpayer who disagreed with the Superintendent's decision wrote to the Manitoba Free Press. He stated:

> . . . The trustees govern solely through the Superintendent, the practical result is that teachers do not come in contact with the trustees and the Superintendent controls the situation. He is an autocrat and not responsible to anyone for the power he exercises . . . as far as the trustees are concerned . . . the Superintendent controls them instead of them controlling the Superintendent. They register and give effect to his decrees and they are none the less decrees because they are called reports or recommendations. 103

In deploring the situation the letter writer went on to state his grievances. He indicated: "Here the people cannot get at the Superintendent" and there is little hope of changing the situation for "the Board is strongly entrenched."[104]

When the question of a labor union for teachers was under discussion in the city in 1900, a Mr. Underwood, who was seeking a seat on the School Board, declared that while he would not say that the School Board opposed such a union he had no hesitation in saying that the Superintendent acted "to prevent teachers from forming such an association." Another candidate for the School Board declared:

> A teachers' union should work in harmony with the Board, but the Superintendent has taken strong ground against it, and he

> would not hesitate a moment to dismiss a teacher who would get up an organization. 105

The power of the Superintendent was firmly established. Keith Wilson has indicated that in the 1890s the educational leadership passed into the hands of the Winnipeg Superintendent of Schools who became recognized as the educational leader not only in the city but in the province as well. "The Superintendent of the Winnipeg system, with the willing support of the leading citizens now took a dominant position."[106]

The rise of the Winnipeg Superintendent to a dominant position and his close supervision over teachers through his assistants followed a bureaucratic pattern that was occurring elsewhere. Paul Rutherford, in studying municipal reform has stated:

> This was the beginning of the age of the specialist and the professional. . . . To a degree this appeared to be a devolution of authority, in fact it was a centralization of authority in the hands of professionals, well nigh independent of the electorate. . . . The latent authoritarianism was tempered by the assumption that the bureaucrat would move in accordance with a right thinking public. 107

As the bureaucrat was left to act in accordance with a "right thinking public" a professional structure was beginning to emerge and the freedom of the individual teacher was being restricted in a way unknown in the past. A new category of supervisory teachers appeared between 1891 and 1905 as the population grew from 24,000 to 80,000 and the teaching staff grew from 66 to 192. These supervisory teachers included two experienced teachers from the Winnipeg teaching staff who were selected to assist the Superintendent in supervising the primary grades.[108] These teachers who assisted the Superintendent, while given positions of power, possessed no training above other teachers for functional specialization. They therefore fit into a system where hierarchy depended more on power than on function. Tyack has noted that "when schools became bureaucracies they developed elaborate rules to govern the behavior of members of the organization." Conformity to rules became important and hierarchies of appointive offices were created, each one with a careful allocation of powers and duties. Admission to the various roles in the system were governed by "objective qualifications." The schools, according to Tyack, were trying to cope with large numbers of heterogeneous pupils and bureaucratization developed as a means to that end.[109]

The emergence of this bureaucratized professional structure in Winnipeg brought with it an increasing recognition of the professional status of teachers in the Winnipeg educational organization. Along with this recognition came pay scales to recognize professional standing. The scales were based on years of experience and the level of instruction and paid grade five to eight teachers more than grade one to four teachers. There was also a difference in pay when it came to male teachers for while their salary scale was also based on level of instruction and years of experience their level began at grade five.[110] The members of the School Board were committed to recognizing a distinction between the sexes when it came to teaching and promoted the idea of the subordinate role of women. They shared a view expressed in the Manitoba Free Press that deplored the

> forming [of] a type of woman rather saturated with a notion of the need of competing with men. There are a good many people who are already fully satisfied to admire the womanly woman. . . . The days of chivalry saw boys in training for their life as men . . . the maiden devoted herself to the arts of the house and acquiring the social graces. 111

Since women were seen in the context of the home where children were nurtured they were naturally seen as capable school teachers for young children. The educational leaders expressed the belief that a woman was superior to a man as a teacher except when it came to handling "big boys."[112] It was a view of women, as teachers, that fit in well with the reality of the composition of the Winnipeg teaching staff for in 1896 only 10% were men and the percentage remained essentially the same in ensuing years.[113] In this high percentage of women who were regarded as "superior" teachers whose natural function was to nurture young children, it is not surprising that an effort was made to ensure that these teachers continued to function in the nurturing of the young in the school system.

In 1903 four male teachers resigned to take up what the Board described as "more remunerative work." The Board decided that they needed to provide "greater financial inducement to men to remain in the schools."[114] This, however, had nothing to do with elementary schools for when the salary levels were revised for these schools there was a provision for an increase for women and a decrease for men. A uniform pay scale was adopted for all elementary teachers based on years of experience and level of instruction with a $100 annual increase for women and a $250 annual decrease for men. The elementary pay scale then ranged from a low of $500 per year to $850 per year on a scale that had been extended from four years to eleven years. A similar extended pay scale was introduced for high school teachers where the highest annual salary increased from $1,400 to $1,800 for men at the ninth year and from $800 to $1,100 for women who reached the highest salary level in five years.[115] The pay scale seemed to ensure the feminization of the elementary schools. There were 160 teachers in the teaching force at this time and of this number 143 were women and 17 were men.[116] Among the women teachers five had been promoted to principalships in the school system of fifteen elementary schools.[117] When one considers that the remaining schools had male principals and there were a number of male manual training teachers it is apparent that the regular elementary teaching staff was all female in 1904. A class system had developed that was unknown in the past, and it would have been a caste system had it not been for the possibility of upward mobility as seen in the advancement of some women to higher ranks in the system. The sex differential and the lower pay scale coupled with lower prestige among elementary teachers helped to reinforce the autocratic system that had developed.

The School Board's commitment to have the best qualified teachers by requiring certification and the adjustment of pay scales was followed by the provision of a pension plan in 1905. This was consistent with the provision for extended pay scales which recognized long term service and was described as making "some provision for teachers who had spent their lives in the school service."[118] Information on pensions had been sought from Ontario and Massachusetts[119] and when all the necessary information had been gathered the School Board requested and was granted legislation to establish a retirement fund for teachers. There were now regulations that governed entry to teaching, regulations that governed pay scales and regulations that governed retirement. A highly bureaucratic system had been developed as a result of an attempt to provide "efficient" teachers to assume the responsibility of making the moral citizen. The organization was perceived by some to be similar to an industrial machine. In 1906 R. T. Riley, who had been a school trustee from 1891 to 1893, addressed a Teachers' Convention in Winnipeg and promoted the idea of pensions for all teachers in the province. He stated:

> . . . Men and women teachers who have spent a lifetime in the service of the board of education should receive a pension. All worn out and poor material should be eliminated and quality and aptitude should be the qualifications for the acceptance of all teachers. 120

This reference to "worn out and poor material" which can be identified with industry in the city was not isolated rhetoric. As noted earlier, it was indicative of those who had embraced bureaucratic ideas.

The pursuit of upgrading teachers by uniform certification requirements, adjusted pay scales and a pension plan, in order to have quality and aptitude or the "efficient professional" making the intelligent, useful or moral citizen, was only part of the overall plan to have the "best" teachers in the schools. In 1893 "in service training" was introduced to the schools and teachers met to study:

> What to teach, Training of the children before coming to school, The limit of usefulness of the textbook in reading, How to conduct a lesson in primary reading, Method of teaching in third grade, Longfellow the children's poet, Longfellow the poet artist, The teaching of literature, Poems of Tennyson, Study of "McMurray on General Method." 121

When the teachers began to study "McMurray on General Method" they studied one of the most "up to date" books. It was written in 1892 by Charles McMurray and was known as The Elements of General Method Based on the Principles of Herbart. Charles McMurray was a disciple of Herbart, a German philosopher. Herbart had published a number of philosophical and pedagogical works and his ideas had a profound influence on McMurray. McMurray's book on Herbart's ideas has been described as furnishing "a simple, practical application of Herbartian principles written for the classroom teacher rather than the scholarly mind."[122] It exposed Winnipeg teachers to a methodology to encourage rapidity of learning through a five step lesson plan and a psychology that was believed to enable the teacher to control a child's life in order to produce the moral person. Herbartian ideas have been summarized as follows:

> Education takes its aim from ethics; psychology then shows it the means and hindrances to this end. The aim is moral strength of character, a will with inner freedom whose volitions are always in accord with the moral law. The three major divisions of education are instruction (Unterricht), discipline (Regierung), and training (Zucht). Since psychology shows the entire mental life (including the desires and the will) is built out of presentations, instruction (with its four steps of clarity, association, system, and method) is directed toward enlarging the child's circle of thought and developing in him a many-sided interest by efficiently introducing the proper presentations into his apperceptive mass. Discipline keeps the child obedient and attentive so that instruction and training can do their work before the child has developed a proper will of his own. Training works constantly to form the will directly through such means as environment, examples, and ideals. Under discipline, the child acts rightly because he must; under proper instruction and training, he acts rightly because he wills to do so.[123]

Herbart believed that at birth the mind had no innate faculties and its only power was to relate to environment by sense perception. He had been influenced by Pestalozzi's idea that sense perceptions are the basis of all instruction. It was through sense perception that the mind could be formed and that formation came through the presentation of external ideas. The main business of educators was to impart the most useful knowledge in the way that the child could grasp and retain it. Luella Cole has stated:

> The presentations will through interaction with one another lead to generalized concepts and eventually to reasoning and morality. All spiritual qualities are thus dependent upon knowledge. Both conduct and character grow out of ideas acquired by the mind and the interaction of these ideas upon one another. Thus instruction alone is enough to produce good conduct and ideals.
>
> To instruct a mind was, actually, to construct it. The teacher's main business is to furnish the right ideas, to determine the relation of these ideas to one another, and thus to form the child's character and to control his conduct. Since a teacher's principal concern was the actual creation of minds, his task was a sacred one and should be undertaken only by the best of men. 124

Herbart's view on psychology was adopted by Karl Lange, a German psychologist who wrote a book on "apperception" explaining the idea of the assimilation of new ideas by means of ideas already acquired.[125] Wilhelm Rein, a skilled writer, gave attention to Herbart's four step lesson plan, making it a five step plan consisting of preparation, presentation, association, generalization and application.[126] Herbart believed that his educational ideas, which also included the correlation of school subjects, among which the most useful were literature and history, provided the teacher with a way of teaching a child the morality of his enveloping social order.[127] The teacher could "create minds."

These new ideas, to which Winnipeg teachers were exposed, had earlier spread quickly in the United States and reached a peak of popularity in 1895. They so penetrated American education that a German critic remarked that the ideas seemed to have found a second homeland in the United States.[128] Some of the leading United States educators who were influenced by Herbartian ideas were John Dewey, G. Stanley Hall and Col. Frances Parker.[129] These men, in turn, influenced Winnipeg educators. Dewey was quoted in the Educational Journal of

Western Canada, a publication edited by Superintendent McIntyre and W. A. McIntyre of the Normal School. G. Stanley Hall visited the city and delivered lectures to teachers[130] and Col. Frances Parker was referred to as one who influenced the teachers of western Canada either directly or indirectly.[131]

In making reference to Parker's Cook County Normal School in Chicago, a writer in the Educational Journal of Western Canada indicated that its "chief characteristic . . . was the emphasis placed upon the correlation of studies and the mental concentration and interest developed by this means." Special note was also made of Parker's focus on the child.[132] He was regarded as one who through his books "has been an inspiration" to teachers.[133] The extent to which Dewey, Hall and Parker influenced Winnipeg teachers with Herbartian ideas is not known. What is known is that examples of Herbartian lesson plans were being introduced in the pages of the Educational Journal of Western Canada,[134] at the turn of the century. Furthermore, Superintendent McIntyre clearly endorsed Herbartian ideas. He stated:

> Germany through such thinkers as Rein, Herbart, Lange and Hegel [have] given us a message that [is] perhaps clearer than that from any other source. 135

A part of this "clearer message" was that instruction in morals, once believed to be inseparably related to the church, could be pursued though a moral theory, based on ethics developed apart from religion and was safe for use in a nonsectarian public school. This was particularly significant for the city of Winnipeg where religion and the schools had become a sensitive issue after the abandonment of denominational schools in 1890 and continued to be a sensitive issue in city life for years. The schools could be used openly and publicly to inculcate morality without being subject to charges of having religion in the schools. In 1903 Superintendent McIntyre reported:

> The opportunity that the school affords for training in right doing and cultivation of right motives to action is kept steadily in view, and in the practice of most teachers the inculcating of the principles of sound morality is emphasized [strongly]. 136

A uniform methodology now became part of the school's operation and teachers were placed in one mould as the educational leadership sought regularity and predictability in a changing world. The individuality and freedom in a flexible system such as existed in the past was now gone. A bureaucratic system with goals of efficiency, regularity and standardization had now developed as educational leaders sought to preserve their values through the use of modern buildings and the preparation of an efficient teaching force. The new system was marked by centralized control and supervision, qualifications for office and rules governing personnel.

Curriculum

In preserving values, the School Board not only focused their attention on the use of buildings and the preparation of teachers but they also gave considerable attention to the curriculum. While they had no direct control over curriculum they were in a position to exert a powerful influence over what was taught in city schools. When one public school system was formed in 1890 the legislation provided for an Advisory Board which would, among other things, exercise control over curriculum. This Board was largely made up of influential Winnipeg leaders, not the least of which was the Superintendent of the Winnipeg School Board who was continually elected to the Board.[137] There were seven members on this Board and each one was to serve for a two year period. Four of these members were appointed by the Manitoba Superintendent of Education, two were elected by the teachers and one was appointed by the University of Manitoba. It was this Board which authorized text books that made the curriculum available to the child. Michael Wall has noted:

> The Winnipeg School System, through its Superintendent, initiated many curriculum changes, not only because the needs of its urban population were different and at times more urgent, but because the strength of educational leadership in the province rested in the personnel of the city system more than in all its other parts. 138

In the exercise of this power to change curriculum the educational leaders in Winnipeg sought two goals; one was to build loyalty to the British Empire and the other was to inculcate a Protestant moral standard. In seeking to create what they called "a national spirit" these reform minded educational leaders gave attention to the curriculum. In February 1891, a report on a School Board meeting indicated that a decision had been made to inquire of Ontario public schools to ascertain what methods they were using to familiarize their children with the Canadian constitution and encourage "feelings of loyalty to Canada." Inquiry was also to be made in the United States to learn "what methods are adopted for patriotic purposes."[139] While the results of these inquiries is not known, what is known is that a curriculum was developed to inculcate patriotism and produce a uniform people. Gage readers had been used in the schools up to 1897, but in 1898 when increased numbers of immigrants appeared in the city, Victorian readers were authorized.[140] These readers were rigidly classified into first reader, second reader, third reader, fourth reader and fifth reader.[141] They were used to inculcate an appreciation for Canada and the Empire. There were selections in the fifth reader on "The Red River Voyageur", a Canadian boat song and "Raleigh and the Queen", "Cromwell's Expulsion of the Long Parliament", and "The Vision of Sir Launfall." Shack has noted that "Byron, Addison, Mather, all the greats of English Literature with a few Americans and Canadians, were thrown in" to challenge the learner.[142] Whatever books were used, the avowed intention of the educational reform leaders was to carefully control the curriculum so as to inculcate what they called "love of country."[143]

In this pursuit British and Canadian history held an important place. Creighton's History of England was authorized in 1895 followed by England's Story in 1903.[144] Jeffer's Canadian History served until 1898 when the authorized text became Clement's, followed by Duncan's in 1904.[145] These texts were to be used in Winnipeg schools

> to lead our boys to appreciate their birthright, as British subjects and citizens of Canada, to acquaint them with the duties and privileges in light of that citizenship. 146

When it came to other areas of the curriculum the patriotic emphasis was clear. Both in memory gems and songs there were selections to promote love of country and the Empire. Among the memory gems were words like these:

And thou, O Empire of the free!
  Beloved land, God compass thee!
Still keep and guard thee in thy ways!
  Still prosper thee in coming days!
And ye, O people brave and blest:
  Love still your country's cause the best:
Uphold her faith, maintain her power,
  Defend her ramparts and her towers. 147

The patriotic songs included "the Maple Leaf Forever" and "Rule Britannia."[148]

The emphasis in the school curriculum upon Canadian patriotism with its loyalty to Britain, was very strong. Miss Sybil Shack, whose mother was an east European immigrant child in the schools of Winnipeg after 1900, examined the school curriculum which was directed at families like hers who came from foreign lands. She noted in geography "children studied little about the lands of their origin." A few weeks were spent in studying the political map of Europe but Morang's Geography, in use at the time as a school text, did not have Bukovinia, Galicia or Bessarabia marked in it. The focus was on British possessions or on countries that were regarded as somewhat similar to Britain.[149]

But if the educational administration, in their rigid control of curriculum materials, excluded what they perceived to militate against an appreciation of that which was British they were also quick to seize upon that which they perceived to promote patriotism as they understood it--a double loyalty to both Canada and Britain. In 1899 Empire Day was appointed as a special observance in the schools of the city with the first observance taking place on June 23. It was described as a day for special emphasis on "the connection of Canada with the British Empire and the inheritance that Canadian children have in the traditions and glory of the British race."[150] Stamp has remarked that "nowhere is British imperialism and Canadian education more thoroughly blended than in the promotion of Empire Day."[151]

Empire Day originated with Miss Clementine Fessenden of Hamilton, Ontario who in 1887 began to promote the idea of observing such a day each year devoted to patriotic exercises. She persuaded the school board in Dundas, Ontario to observe such a day in 1898. Ontario Education Minister, George Ross, picked up the idea and promoted it by corresponding with education ministers and superintendents across Canada. The idea was endorsed by the Dominion Education Association and was widely accepted. The first official Empire Day was observed in the schools of Ontario on May 23, 1899[152] and its observance in Winnipeg schools one month later made Winnipeg schools among the first to observe the day. Mr. Sanford Evans,[153] who was later to serve as Mayor of Winnipeg, was at the first official Empire Day celebration for Ontario schools which centered at Toronto Normal School. As founder of the Canadian Club movement he stressed the role of the school in creating a patriotic spirit.[154]

As the observance of Empire Day became established in the schools, loyalty to the Empire was promoted through music such as the "Dominion Hymn" in which God was asked to "bless our wide Dominion, our father's chosen land" and to "defend our people's union" and "save our Empire's king." The hymn went on to express a commitment to "guard the flag wher'er through earth's far regions [its] triple crosses fly."[155] There were essays or speeches that centred on Canada as part of the Empire and suggestions on how one could serve his country. There was also an exercise on flag making and a geographical exercise which involved the use of a large map showing British possessions marked in color. In addition to this a historical exercise included imagining the country in which one supposed he was living on certain given dates such as 1535, 1603, 1759, 1812, 1867, 1902. This directed the pupils' attention to events in Britain and Canada. Tableaux were also used which focused on the "the Colonies and the Motherland" and stories of patriotism were told, many of which were found in The Victorian Reader.[156] Little was left to chance for the educational leaders believed that if Empire Day was to achieve its purpose in inculcating loyalty it had to be a day in which all activities were clearly outlined. Bureaucratic centralized control was fully pursued in the interests of creating a patriotic spirit in the population.

The School Board members immediately perceived that the flying of the flag was "kindred in purpose" to observing Empire Day. They, therefore, passed a regulation consistent with the bureaucratic pattern of following rules. The regulation stated:

> . . . the Canadian Ensign be hoisted in all school buildings on the following days: Dominion Day, Coronation Day, Thanksgiving Day, Labor Day, Queen's Birthday, Empire Day, Arbor Day, Civic Holiday and the opening and closing days of school terms and on such other occasions as ordered by the School Management Committee. 157

This regulation was followed by a provincial government regulation some six years later that required all schools in the province to fly "the British national flag" from 9 A.M. to 4 P.M. each day school was in session unless inclement weather threatened to injure the flag. Uniformity of loyalty was the aim of the school program. When the flag policy was introduced the following explanation was carried in the Western School Journal:

> In view of the ever increasing number of settlers coming to our province from foreign shores, and in consideration of the difficulties that confront us in blending these heterogeneous peoples into one common citizenship, the government has decided that the surest means lies in the schools; and in future the schools must do their part in inculcating patriotism and a love for the flag. 158

As the program for inculcating patriotism was put into place in the Winnipeg public schools Hon. T. M. Daly stated:

> Our school is the place to teach patriotism. I have seen this demonstrated time and again in our Winnipeg schools. I have seen children start to school without knowing one word of English and within six months they would sing our national anthem with as much enthusiasm as our own native born Canadians. 159

In 1910 Rev. Dr. George Bryce indicated "there are probably more than 4,000 children of foreigners, speaking some twenty different languages in Winnipeg schools." They sing the songs of Britain and Canada and "over every public school the Union Jack is hoisted every school day." The reading books are filled with patriotic selections and "young foreigners" of diverse nations are forming one nation.[160] Bryce's observation is supported by Sybil Shack. She has indicated that immigrant children in the schools at that time were being made Canadians, they were being Anglicized.[161]

The simple curriculum of the past was now becoming more complex as educational leaders sought to inculcate loyalty to Britain. In addition to this the old emphasis on the distinctiveness of the individual was giving place to uniformity as each pupil was pressed into a designed mould. Great organizational detail became apparent and a proliferation of rules and regulations characteristic of bureaucratic organization accompanied the use of what was "authorized" in the schools.

Inseparably linked to the use of the curriculum to promote British loyalty was the commitment to promote Protestant moral values--that which was perceived to be "right" by the British Protestant majority. That which was "right" was the well ordered life which had existed in the village past and it appeared to be threatened by rapid urban development. Between 1871 and 1890 the population of Winnipeg increased from 700 to 23,000 and this was reflected in a similar increase in Protestant public school enrollment which increased from 35 to around 4,000.

When the reform minded educational leaders were confronted by this large number of children, at the formation of the one school system which was intended to unify and harmonize society, they turned their attention to the organization of the school curriculum so that it would "efficiently" accomplish its intended purpose. Pupils were "exactly classified" so each grade level would have a program of studies suited to their level of maturity. They insisted that the treatment of subject matter be suitable "for pupils of the grades to which it is addressed." Subjects like grammar were postponed until children's "minds were sufficiently matured to apprehend its subtleties." Reading books were selected so that they would be appropriate to the "stage" that had been reached by the pupil. Pupils at various "stages" were assigned to specific grades on the basis of examinations that were given throughout the year. These examinations were expected to measure "the knowledge and mental ability" regarded as necessary for promotion to the next grade[162] and were given by the teachers who taught grades one through seven. In 1897, with a rising sense of diversity in the city, that has been noted earlier in this thesis, a policy was adopted of authorizing only one text per subject and delineating the pages and topics to be studied.[163] In order to ensure that the rigid program was adhered to, the "visiting committee" of the School Board called at the schools to observe the "literary work" and the discipline.[164] In 1898 it was reported that "every department of the elementary schools was visited by one or more members of the committee." Their comments included words like "well preserved", "order . . . was good", "training in painstaking and order."[165] Later, still in 1903, a report made special note of "the orderly aspect of the classes."[166] Rigid bureaucratic control of the curriculum marked by regulation and supervision became commonplace as educational leaders sought regularity and predictability.

In seeking to build this regularity and predictability the educational administration deplored anything that threatened it. It was perceived that irregular attendance at school was one of those "threats" for it interfered with "good order." A Board report noted:

> When it is remembered that each day's work is based on a knowledge of that of the preceding day, and that in class instruction those ready to proceed have frequently to wait while principles that they have mastered are explained to those who were absent when these principles were formerly under discussion it will be seen that the question of irregularity does not affect the irregular attendant alone, but very seriously affects the progress of the whole school. 167

In 1895 there was some attempt made to place each pupil where he could work to the best advantage. Individual and special class promotions were made to overcome objections that brighter children were being held back while slower ones were catching up.[168] This innovation was soon lost as several hundred additional children crowded the school by 1899. The members of the School Board lamented that the crowding of classes made it difficult to give individual attention to those who needed it.[169] While new schools were built, the constant influx of people to the city, after the turn of the century, caused a continuing overcrowding problem. In 1904 the educational leaders stated:

> When classes are so large there is no opportunity to examine individual needs and give individual instruction. Much of the teaching misses the mark. 170

When Chafe recalled his early school experiences in Winnipeg schools near the turn of the century, he indicated that for most pupils the school

> was a grade by grade, lock-step proposition. Each year you passed the exams or you stayed in the same room, probably in the same seat, for another year. Excessive enrollment made ability grouping impractical and there were no special classes so that "misfits" simply kept repeating. There were boys of 14 in grade four, of 16, even 17 in grade seven. 171

Statistics published by the School Board in 1901 would appear, at least in part, to support Chafe's recollection of a rigid program that created considerable age difference in some grades.

Table IV-3

Age Difference According to Grade

Age	-	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
Grade	1	797	476	170	98	16	27	2	11					1597
"	2	4	296	358	165	82	40	15	1					955
"	3		30	189	308	228	131	46	13	3				948
"	4			26	143	252	197	110	43	8	1			780
"	5			1	22	95	188	230	142	72	19	3		772
"	6				1	26	83	166	155	130	32	7		600
"	7					1	9	80	116	93	47	15	4	365
"	8						1	31	81	103	85	37	8	346
		801	802	738	737	700	676	680	562	409	184	62	12	6363

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In the year these statistics were published there was concern expressed about the overorganized schools. An article on "Order in the School" was published in the Educational Journal of Western Canada and the editors of the Journal responded to it. This article portrayed the orderly school as a place which was "organized" with everything "in the places designed for them." Classes were arranged so those pursuing the same study were put together. The children in these classes knew "what" they were to do, "when" they were to do it, and "how" they were to do it, as they all adhered to a rigid program. The children were trained to "come and go" without noise and confusion and their every move was under the direct supervision of the teacher. The editorial comment on all this was, it was "over direction" and could produce negative results. It made "a machine" of the child who responded as "a machine" to every command of the teacher. It was stated when a boy left school there was no teacher's eye continually upon him and no constant reminders of duty. What was needed, according to the editors, was school government which would result in growth in self-government. A child needed to "be orderly" and then he would "act orderly."[173]

The development of bureaucracy in the school program did not only encompass what might be called the traditional program but included newer pedagogical innovations. These newer innovations followed the common organizational pattern and were rigid, detailed and highly controlled. Music was one of the first educational innovations to be introduced to the schools at the dawn of the 1890s and was given twenty minutes per day in the school schedule. It was spoken of as being "regularly established" in 1891 under the supervision of a special teacher, Miss Carrie E. Day, a graduate of the Boston Conservatory of Music. Music was believed to be a subject that could "refine and sweeten life." In addition to this it was assumed to be "a safeguard against attractions of a lower order and a subject that promotes morality."[174] Pupils in advanced grades learned sight reading and were instructed in how to sing simple two-part songs. The lower grades had similar work but they sang only rote songs.[175] By 1894 music was perceived, by educational leaders, to be so well established in the schools it was unnecessary to report further on it as a special subject.

When music with its accompanying supervision was being introduced to the schools action was also taken to provide large school sites so children could have playground activities in an increasingly congested urban environment. Superintendent McIntyre expressed the belief that as children encountered each other "in healthful and manly sport" they would receive moral and physical training. Playground sport was part of the British heritage and it was believed if it was conducted under wise supervision it would enable children to learn lessons which would prepare them to function in society in a harmonious manner.[176] The supervision of the playground was envisioned as being "gently regulative" but by 1900 it had become what was called "sentinel duty" resembling "the surveillance of the police officer."[177] It is not surprising when men and women teachers were compared in relation to playground work the men teachers were regarded as superior teachers. Women were said to be deficient in supervising playground activity for "she cannot supervise the doings of big boys as she should."[178]

Military drill was also added to the curriculum in the interests of physical development. This subject by its very nature was under direct and close supervision. In 1891 drill was conducted by Sergeant Major Watson of the 90th Rifles. Though the time given to it was limited it was believed to improve "bearing and carriage" and promote "habits of attention, alertness and prompt obedience."[179]

The year 1891 also saw the introduction of drawing to the schools. It was to train the eyes to behold beauty and give the hand skill to express what the eye sees. It was also believed to develop the power of comparison and invention and was regarded as being linked to the mechanical arts.[180] Drawing, like music and military drill, was placed in the hands of a supervisor. This supervisor, Miss J. Patterson, was described as giving "wise guidance" in the new subject area.[181]

Mr. George Patterson, a member of the School Board, when speaking at the opening of the new Mulvey School in 1893, is recorded in the press to have made reference to the changes that had occurred in the schools.

> He spoke of the teaching of singing and the elements of military drill. He mentioned also that a special drawing teacher went from school to school and instructed the teachers that they might be in a position to teach the children. The system of teaching was so different from that of years gone by the children would rather go to school than stay home. 182

A part of this "different system of teaching" included the introduction of Arbor Day, in 1893, to encourage tree planting and the beautification of grounds. The educational leader's view was, "grounds are educative in their effect in a right or wrong direction,"[183] and well kept grounds are an important accessory to school work. Arbor Day had been set aside by the Provincial Government prior to 1890, as a day to be chosen by the Lieutenant Governor in Council for the encouragement of tree planting. It met with little success prior to 1890.[184] When the day was introduced to the schools it resulted immediately in the planting of hundreds of trees on school grounds.[185] A whole list of "Arbor Day Exercises" was soon published which included singing, recitations and tree planting. In Winnipeg schools the exercises began at 9:30 in the morning and lasted for two hours, after which the children were dismissed from school for the day. The preparation for the exercises listed in 1902 indicated "Everything to the smallest detail must be foreseen and arranged for."[186]

Consistent with the introduction of Arbor Day and the emphasis on beautifying school grounds to resemble the natural countryside was the addition of plant study to the school curriculum in 1895.[187] It was believed that such a subject could develop the observing powers and turn the attention of pupils to the country where agriculture was carried on.[188] As every detail of Arbor Day had been clearly arranged, so this new subject had its own supervisor to ensure it was taught according to plan.[189]

Military drill was also expanded at this time and continued to be conducted with exactness. It was conducted in May and June but was not uniform throughout the schools. In an attempt to involve as many children as possible in the exercises, calisthenics was provided for the girls and competition between schools was encouraged, with trophies being awarded to those who presented the best display of discipline. Major Billman was appointed as permanent instructor in 1895 and teachers were given instruction on how to conduct exercises in the classroom.[190] The educational administration believed the provision of a permanent instructor and the further provision of teachers competent to teach physical drill would make it possible to provide exercise for boys and girls. Physical drill was regarded as of value for children who were said to "remain seated for several hours a day" and were in need of "good physical exercise."[191] In their attempt to provide for the needs of the urban environment, the educational leaders were led on a course of bureaucratic development that saw all parts of the school curriculum carefully controlled and supervised.

In 1897, as it became apparent that greater diversity characterized the city and the population was outstripping available school accommodation, the educational leaders pursued military drill as a subject that was believed to aid in producing orderly behavior. A public performance of drill and calisthenics was held to mark Queen Victoria's Jubilee and boys and girls competed for prizes at both junior and senior levels. The display of drill and calisthenics was described as being carried out with "promptitude and precision" that was "astonishing." Appreciation was expressed to Major Billman and "the teachers who so faithfully carried out his instructions."[192] Military drill was referred to as a subject once carried out in "desultory fashion" but now it was "systematized."[193] Teachers were reported as being "unanimous in saying that the habit of instant obedience inculcated in the drill is an aid to discipline in the ordinary school work."[194] The Winnipeg School Board expressed their belief that military drill inculcated "habits of good order and self control" and that too much encouragement could not be given to a subject that provided physical training and could produce "a vigorous race of men and women."[195] F. H. Schofield of the high school was an educational leader who also lauded military drill. He promoted the idea of the formation of two cadet corps in the high school at this time.[196]

Billman continued to instruct teachers in military drill and in 1903 as many as 110 teachers were taking evening classes at Somerset

School for instruction in the drill. Parades, concerts, exhibitions of drill, fancy marching and calisthenics became common in the city. Cadet companies became popular and Lieutenant Millican donated a set of rifles and a little later two swords for the competition of cadet companies in the school. Another set of rifles was presented by the Governor General in 1905.[197] The cadet companies wore uniforms for their drill exercises and a picture of the Alexander School cadet corps, resplendent in uniform, appeared in the School Board's Annual Report.[198] While these uniforms emphasized the military aspect of the drill they also tended to diminish individual identity in the mass drills.

Shortly after military drill had become "systematized" in 1898 the School Board was confronted by a problem demanding action if the goal of "a vigorous race of men and women" was to be realized. This problem could not be solved by military drill for it involved the use of cigarettes among school boys. It was believed that the frequent or habitual use of cigarettes lowered the mental and moral tone of the boys. A writer to the Manitoba Free Press who signed himself "Citizen" described the use of tobacco among boys as a "growing evil" which was:

> . . . sapping the mental vigor of the youth, unfitting him for good society, creating in him a thirst for strong drink, causing him to use obscene and profane language and keeping bad company with many other bad results which flow from this depraved habit. 199

A means to curb this "bad habit" was sought through penny savings banks. These banks were introduced to the schools to encourage thrift and give boys a motive for saving. The banks had first been introduced to Winnipeg by St. George's Church in order to demonstrate the value of taking care of small savings.[200] The schools took over the banks in the belief boys would save their money and the temptation to spend money for tobacco and cigarettes would be counteracted.[201]

As efforts were being made to build an orderly, healthy, vigorous population, industrial development was taking place. The schools, for the first time, began a movement to modify the curriculum to bring it into closer harmony with the growing industrial enterprises in the city. This movement began in the Collegiate with the introduction of a commercial course in 1896 which was expected to bring the "Collegiate Institute into closer touch with the business interests of the city."[202] Following the bureaucratic pattern that had been set for new subjects, a specialist teacher, R. H. Scott, was hired to supervise the new department.[203] Agriculture and drawing were other subjects added to the curriculum at this time.[204] The rigid academic tradition of the Collegiate, however, made these courses of little practical value for strict examination procedures permitted few to pass. The commercial courses serve as an example. In 1896 there were forty students who started to study commercial subjects. The courses had what were called "somewhat severe requirements for promotion," and that coupled with "dropouts" resulted in only ten completing the course, and of the ten only eight were judged to be well prepared to write for a commercial diploma. Eight wrote the exams required by the Advisory Board but it was found the Board's requirements were so high only four passed.[205]

As commercial work with its rigid standards was introduced to the Collegiate, discussion among the School Board members focused on "industrial training." The action of the State of Massachusetts, in making it compulsory for every city with more than 25,000 population to have a manual training high school, was noted.[206] An article by C. M. Woodward of St. Louis, published by the Commission on Education for the United States and dealing with the manual training high school, was examined. It was noted regular high school subjects were taught as well as practical subjects ranging from woodwork to metalwork. It was also noted this work extended to the school grades by systematically arranged exercises in woodwork. The Board concluded that industrial training had to be given but it had to be given "with a view to both its educational and industrial values" as it was in other places.[207]

Criticism of the elementary school for "educating children away from industrial pursuits"[208] was soon heard in the city. The Manitoba Free Press expressed the opinion that education was aimed too much toward the professions. G. W. Murray, a city resident, wrote to the Manitoba Free Press and made a strong plea for a more practical education.[209] He indicated those who desired to engage in "mechanical pursuits" were at a disadvantage and the schools' emphasis on intellectual matters put the whole country at a disadvantage in an increasingly industrial society. Children needed to be prepared for society. According to Murray, Britain, France and Germany had shown the way to industrial education and the Winnipeg schools should follow their lead.[210] F. H. Schofield, principal of the Collegiate, echoed Murray's statement indicating manual training was established in Sweden, Germany, England and the United States and it was important for Canada not to fall behind in the educational advance.[211] Mrs. George Bryce, wife of the prominent Presbyterian clergyman and educator, gave an address as president of the Women's Home, in early 1900 and made reference to the need for practical training. She indicated the absence of "industrial training" points to "some defect in the educational system."[212]

As this discussion of manual training was developing in the city, labor became alarmed. The schools had developed rigid forms, formal supervision and an hierarchical structure which appeared to reflect the industrial bureaucracy of the city. Labor expressed the belief that the object of "manual labor in schools" was "to keep children in the positions their fathers occupy."[213] When the Trades and Labor Congress met in Winnipeg in 1898 the following resolution was passed:

> Inasmuch as systematic efforts have been made and are being made to engraft manual training upon the public school system, Be it resolved, therefore, that such an innovation would be inimical to the best interests of the working people of the country and it is hereby an instruction to the executive to use its best efforts in opposition wherever such efforts are being or may be made and that instead it urges a general encouragement of the teaching of technical education and the obligatory teaching of the science of agriculture. 214

T. R. Morrison has examined manual training in Ontario during the years 1870-1900 and indicated that for Ontario--

> Manual training was an abrasion in the already tense relationships between capital and labor. The friction resulted, in part, from conflicting interpretations of the implications of the term "manual training." Organized labor conceived of manual training within public schools as a form of job training. The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada raised their objections to this type of education: credentials required for entrance into a trade would be obtainable from sources outside union control, an already overcrowded labor market would be glutted further by public school tradesmen and manual training would trap children of the working classes by denying them the type of education which would increase their chances for upward mobility. 215

The concern of labor in Winnipeg, which was similar to that of labor elsewhere, can be understood as they saw the continuing tightening of rigid structures. The voice of the drill sergeant could be heard as military precision developed not only on the parade ground but through all areas of the school system as educational leaders sought to preserve the order of the past. Labor could see itself locked into an unyielding bureaucratic structure with no opportunity to move.

Labor was not the only opponent of manual training. There were others who believed that the curriculum was already overcrowded and any further additions would tend to interfere with the established "important branches" of study.[216] These opponents, however, could not stand against manual training which was described by Superintendent McIntyre as a subject which many believed to be "the greatest educational reform of the century that has just closed."[217] When Sir William McDonald of Montreal made an offer, in 1900, to make Winnipeg one of the experimental centres in which manual training was to be introduced across the country, the offer was readily accepted by educational leaders. McDonald resolved to "lay the foundation of technical training across Canada" and agreed to pay the costs for three years of manual training for boys in grades five, six and seven. The Winnipeg School Board provided a room in the Stovel Block for forty pupils and this was followed by the provision of rooms for two classes in the Mulvey School and a class in the Machray School in the north end.[218] This led to further bureaucratization in the school system as a "qualified specialist," Mr. W. J. Warters, was selected to organize and supervise the program. He developed a precise "fixed course of exercises covering in orderly fashion certain principles of construction."[219]

The enthusiasm with which Superintendent McIntyre accepted manual training was shared by other educational leaders. In 1900 when the subject was introduced to Winnipeg schools the Educational Journal of Western Canada carried an article which indicated the value of manual training was to be found in developing the constructive talent which struggles to free itself in boys. Boys tended to "tire of school" and wanted to be doing something outside of school. It was believed that manual training would satisfy the boy's desire for activity and hold him in school for a longer time. The economic relevance of this new subject was seen in its power to draw the attention of the pupil to the possibility of acquiring mechanical skill. It could "cultivate the industrial disposition to the end that [the pupil] may be an independent and self supporting unit in society."[220]

The next year W. J. Warters, the Superintendent of Manual Training, expressed his admiration for the new subject. He believed that one could not devise a subject more attractive to pupils. It was a subject through which teaching took place by means of the senses of sight and touch. The teacher was able to take advantage of the natural activity of the child and "by guiding it into a right channel" bring it under "proper control." Manual training was seen as a subject that could provide activity for the boy and in so doing keep him from "evil."[221]

After manual training had been a part of the Winnipeg school program for two years, W. A. McIntyre indicated that since the home could not fulfill its educational duties as it once had done by providing education which emphasized old home values in a setting in which the child was active, it was necessary for the school to include "education by doing," in its program. As he observed fast changing society, he deplored the lack of regularly organized kindergartens in the school system which could provide educational activities for young children, but indicated the heavy demand for finances for regular school activities made it impossible to have kindergartens. He, therefore, believed that the city was deprived of a school which could "build up strong, vigorous, free and happy life, through the self activity of its little members." He indicated, "For the children from some homes it is a misfortune that kindergarten schools are not to be found." Nevertheless, he believed self activity could be pursued in the school grades through a changed curriculum that would give an opportunity for children to express themselves "in acts as well as in words." "Education by doing," according to McIntyre was as necessary as "education by thinking."[222]

There appears to be little doubt educational leaders saw manual training as a very valuable subject. It could join both "doing" and "thinking," as a way in which values of the idealized home of the village could be inculcated through the schools.

When the three year period of the McDonald funding expired, the Winnipeg Public School Board expressed the belief that manual training was a valuable addition to the ordinary subjects of the curriculum. It was said to train "the hand and eye" and to be deserving of "a permanent place in the school program."[223] The acceptance of manual training in Winnipeg schools formally established a new department of instruction in the schools. This was quickly followed by an expansion of the department to provide for sewing for girls. The policy of providing for close supervision in the schools was followed as Miss M. Halliday was engaged as supervisor of sewing for girls. The new manual training department was now a part of the school system and consisted of two distinct programs from grades five to seven. Superintendent McIntyre declared:

> The taking over of the manual training schools . . . and the institution of classes in sewing [give] evidence of the desire of the Board of Trustees to make the schools an efficient agency to equip the children of the city for the requirements of life. 224

The desire of the Board of Trustees to make the schools an "efficient agency" to equip children for the requirements of life resulted in developments that were far removed from the simple informal procedures of the idealized rural past. This was now mass training which saw 1,200 boys and an equal number of girls from grades five to seven[225] involved in a new department of schooling that bound them to a formal "fixed course of exercises" which were to be pursued in "orderly fashion." There could be little personal interaction between individuals, no recognition of unique ability levels and whatever might have been said of individual "self expression" there was no freedom of the child to express his individuality. New values of efficiency and standardization had taken the place of older values as educational leaders sought to build a homogeneous society.

In 1905 manual training for girls was extended to grade eight with a domestic science program added to the curriculum. A highly trained specialist, Miss Reeble Lennox of the Winnipeg School of Household Science, sponsored by Mrs. Massey-Treble of Toronto, was hired to supervise the work.[226] A classroom in the Alexandra School was fitted with appliances and served as a centre for grade eight girls from all parts of the city. The School Board expressed the belief that the sewing classes for grade five, six, and seven girls and the cooking classes formed "a fairly complete course in household science." This manual training work for girls was believed to interest the pupils, stimulate "thoughtful planning" and "patient application," and have an "immediate bearing on the future of every girl in the school."[227] This somewhat clouded the question concerning the purpose of manual training for when it came to girl's work it appeared to have direct relevance to the work that girls would do. Nevertheless, it was apparent in 1907 manual training was not viewed as preparation for any particular field of work. Mr. W. J. Warters addressed the Teachers' Convention and made it clear manual training was for "all round development" and was designed to make pupils willing agents of their own "uplifting."[228]

When the School Board members first set the Winnipeg schools on a course of educational innovation in 1890 they were following a course which introduced interest and activity to schools as essentials of learning. The new subjects reflected pupil needs and the change was recognized in the publication of an article in the Western School Journal entitled "The Aim of the School." In that article educational change was referred to as "The New Educational Movement" which "shifts the gaze of the teachers from the tools of thought to the child."[229] This educational change was now providing pupils with the opportunity to see and touch what they learned and opened the way for further innovation in the school system.

While manual training was becoming established and military drill was being pursued Winnipeg was in what Morton has called the first decade of "the great boom." A large number of immigrants, who came to the west, settled in Winnipeg driving the population up from 38,733 in 1897 to 111,721 in 1907. The city became a thriving centre of industrial development. In this great change, the homogeneity educational leaders sought was not being realized. The city was becoming more and more unlike the idealized village of the past. In February, 1905 a press report referred to "wretched conditions" found in "north end slums" where people were "huddled together in filth."[230] Later that year another report indicated there were many unstable homes in the city where children were sadly neglected.[231] In the spring of 1906 a violent streetcar strike broke out. The street violence was reported in the press to have "disgraced Winnipeg." Streetcars were burned and people were injured in a dispute between labor and management, over wages and conditions of work.[232] The presence of typhoid fever in the city generated reports elsewhere that hurt Winnipeg's civic pride. It was being published abroad that Winnipeg was not a healthy city. This was regarded by Winnipeg boosters as a "despicable [attempt] . . . to jeopardize Winnipeg's reputation as a healthy city by exaggerated stories regarding the prevalence of typhoid at certain seasons of the year." In defence of the city it was stated there had been an examination of statistics on health expenditures in North American cities and it was perceived Winnipeg stood second only to Butte, Montana in its "spending . . . upon its sanitary affairs."[233] But whatever was being spent on "sanitary affairs" Dr. Halpenny, a prominent Winnipeg physician, warned that the presence of large numbers of foreigners in the city, whose standards of living were low, constituted a hazard to the entire community. He indicated that as the immigrant children crowded the public schools, the schools became "a ready means of contagion" and needed to have medical supervision.[234] Within a short period of time the city was perceived to have been "disgraced" by violence, deeply offended by widespread negative reports on health conditions and in danger of contagious disease from the foreign immigrant population.

In the midst of all this there was a consciousness in the city that the schools were bearing a large burden. R. T. Riley, a prominent city businessman, indicated in a public address that parents had unloaded upon the schools "much of the work that under the best conditions should be done at home." Clearly the conditions in Winnipeg were not the best but Riley expressed confidence that "with good teachers and good equipment, we need have no fear of the results."[235] The Western School Journal carried an article the month after Riley delivered his speech which stated:

> The school is the great reforming and regenerating instrument. How many of the hopes of the improvement of the race cluster about it. The teacher is surrounded by innocent childhood. . . . Today they are children, tomorrow they will be men and women, the fathers and mothers of the land. . . . Inspire them with a high sense of justice and you will elevate jurisprudence and humanize the laws. Imbue them with a deep reverence for goodness, for the moral laws of God, and you raise the tone of society, and do something to purify the fountains of instruction. Give them a knowledge of the laws of physical nature and you do much to improve agriculture and the useful arts. 236

It is not surprising as the social fabric of the city was under extreme stress the school, as a "reforming instrument," would be pressed to greater service. As the pressure on the growing city was becoming more apparent an attempt was made as early as 1904 to minimize irregularity in the school by providing a special school for the Children's Home.[237] Since 1895 the children of the Home had attended the nearest public school,[238] but in 1904 the educational leaders expressed the belief that in the event of the outbreak of contagious disease in the Home it would be necessary to withdraw from 30 to 41 children from the public school. This was viewed as too disruptive to the public school program for the children of the Home would be absent from two to three months and would fall far behind in their work, destroying the regular progress of the school. In order to avoid this "irregularity" it was decided a separate school was necessary. This school was opened in 1906[239] and increased the complexity of the school system. Children were now not simply assigned to separate rooms according to grades but were classified according to groups and assigned a separate school. The rigid categorization of children was now extended further in the school system.

The Children's Home School was only one of the new schools to open in 1906. The Model School, in connection with the Normal School also opened that year.[240] This coincided with the construction of a permanent building for the Normal School which eliminated the need for rented quarters. The teachers in training who previously had used the public schools for their practical work now gained their experience in the Model School.[241] This school, as a model, attempted to focus on the individual and develop a sense of community as it set forth "the ideal of a healthy community life."[242] The school which was under the direction of W. A. McIntyre, principal of the Normal School, sought to give more attention to the individual and lessen "the evil effects of rigid classification." Four hours a day were given to class teaching and the rest of the time was devoted to individual instruction but even this was designed to make sure "laggards are kept in line."[243] McIntyre indicated:

> We took as our model, not the army with its rigorous discipline, nor the church, which at times makes quietness synonymous with goodness, but the well ordered home, in which there is happy and useful service based on love and glad obedience. 244

Cooperative work was encouraged among the pupils. Exercises in composition, the study of cotton, exercises that involved the discussion of pottery and wallpaper were all pursued cooperatively with each pupil contributing his share to the exercise.[245] School gardening and handwork also were introduced to the curriculum.

This school added to the complexity of the educational scene in Winnipeg and while it was one school among many, it was very unlike the average city school. It had six classrooms with an attendance of thirty to a room. Many pupils desired admission but since attendance in each room was limited[246] they could not be accommodated. Furthermore, as a model school attached to the Normal School it had a comparatively highly qualified staff. It was essentially a protest against the regimentation that had developed in the public schools. It was a model developed by "progressives" in education who had been influenced by John Dewey. As early as 1901 a lengthy quotation from Dewey's The School and Society appeared in the Educational Journal of Western Canada.[247] Teachers were encouraged to get Dewey's book if they were to "get out of [their] shell." It was a book that was said to be "the best antidote to the narrowness which perceives book knowledge to be the highest thing in school life." But it was difficult to transmit the "progressive spirit" to overcrowded schools like the Norquay in the "north end." It was there in 1906 that Miss Margaret Harper taught a grade one class with 26 boys and 30 girls, ranging in age from six to fourteen. There was a high dropout rate and by the end of the term 88 children had appeared on her school role. A grade two class in the same school was taught by Miss M. G. Conklin and had an average attendance of 79 between September and December of 1906. Many of these children were described as "overaged and undermotivated, bewildered and defeated by a new language and a new way of life . . . uprooted and rebellious . . . hostile and uncooperative."[248] It would have been very difficult to transform classes like these into something that appeared like a family at cooperative work such as Dewey described as the ideal school.

During 1907 the increase in the number of immigrants in the city continued to put pressure on the community and the schools. Observers watched the arrival of people from different parts of the world whose values and religion differed greatly from the British Protestantism in the city. In May 1907 a train carrying 1,125 Galicians arrived in Winnipeg, 1,000 of them ticketed to the city. A press report entitled "A Thousand Galicians" described their arrival at the Canadian Pacific Railway depot on May 3. It was said to be the most extraordinary sight of the year in connection with the work of immigration.

> The arriving strangers were in the garb of their country, all the women wearing the usual handkerchief on the head. Many members of the party, both men and women, were attired in sheepskin, and there were babies in arms similarly clothed.[249]

In response to increasing social pressures the School Board gave special attention to both manual training and military drill. Manual training was for the first time extended to the junior grades. The Carlton School was chosen to introduce "hand and eye training" in free hand drawing, modeling in clay and carving in wood. This was influenced by the principles outlined by J. Liberty Tad of the Industrial Arts School in Philadelphia and included both boys and girls in the same work.[250] Some measure of change was also introduced to the existing manual training work. The Board was becoming aware that the bureaucracy was stifling the creative work of the children. In manual training a fixed course of exercises had been followed, covering "in orderly fashion," the principles of construction. According to a Board report this form was followed "somewhat strictly" and resulted in a loss of interest among children. They indicated that in manual training and in other fields as well, "things done for drill purposes only have a tendency to dull the edge of interest." The Board members began to encourage a departure from the fixed series of models.[251]

In 1908 Mr. Warters, Superintendent of Manual Training, visited the United States "for the purpose of informing himself as to lines of work that had been found most profitable."[252] After his return manual training work was extended to all elementary school grades in all schools, with a highly detailed program outlined for each grade.[253] An outline of the program reported in 1909 indicated grade one worked with plasticene modeling, grade two had raffia work and basketry, grade three and four had wood carving, clay modeling or thin woodwork. Grades five and six had woodwork for boys and sewing for girls.[254] A careful accounting of no fewer than 475 individual pieces of equipment for boys' work with number or size and price of each piece was included in the report. While there are no manual training attendance figures for 1909 the 1908 figures indicate 1,400 boys took woodwork and a like number of girls took sewing. There were also cooking classes in which 300 girls were enrolled.[255] This large program received recognition by the government in 1909. The Minister of Education granted to all manual training and household science instructors the rank of teacher for grant purposes. In addition to this, financial assistance was provided to purchase additional manual training equipment.[256]

Similar attention was given to military drill and the military emphasis was further enhanced. In 1907 one of the schools was supplied with "the sub-target gun issued by the Department of Militia" and steps were taken to equip others in a similar manner. The purpose was explained as providing opportunity for boys to learn the main conditions of target without possibility of accident.[257] An annual review of school drill companies was also held and took place on the University grounds with 1,200 boys participating.[258] A picture of the "Cadet Battalion" was also included in the Annual Report.[259] These were the boys who were described as going through their various "drills and evolutions with a promptness and exactness that won praise from military experts who conducted the review."[260]

In 1908 the School Board provided two sets of rifles for the drill companies[261] and in 1909 some unnamed citizens had "organized and equipped" a boys band which they turned over to the School Board. This uniformed band was believed to add to the appearance of parades and provide an opportunity for boys to learn band music.[262]

Military drill was strongly promoted in the north end schools where "sons of peasants" marched in their brightly colored Cadet uniforms.[263] W. J. Sisler of Strathcona School indicated that his school had three cadet companies "who knew their company and battalion drill much better than did most militia units of the time."[264] Bryce noted in 1910:

> There was a Russian boy who had only been half a year in the country commanding with distinction one of the companies of the splendid body of 1,500 cadets of the Winnipeg schools. 265

Chafe has recorded his memories of military drill in the schools as follows:

> If you could keep in step you could become a cadet and get out on the playground--even go on route marches--in school time and, with broom handles for rifles, learn to "slope arms" etc. This was in preparation for the annual parade ground display and competition put on by the city schools. . . . Every school with any martial pride had a well drilled company then, even two or three, and every cadet resplendent in his uniform, was proudly conscious of his role in this great boy-pageant, and gleefully conscious of the admiring throng of girls from his school, waving the school colors on bamboo canes. We were commanded "en masse" by the famous Colonel Billman . . . [whose] commanding voice on the parade ground [calling] his "For-r-m fou-ah-ahs!" made all three thousand boys in his "army" positively vibrate as they clicked their heels in precision. And what a thrill if your company won one of the competitions! It was awarded "the Sword," or perhaps a set of real rifles and the ceremony of presentation, back at the school, became the high point of the year. 266

Frequent reference was made by educational leaders to the "citizens'" support of military drill. They took, as evidence of their support, the crowds that attended the public displays and the donation of prizes from "citizens" for cadet companies that won in the drill. But even though there were crowds that attended the displays of drill and donations were made to winning cadet companies, support for military drill did not come from everyone. As manual training had its opponents so military drill had those who were less than pleased with the subject. Some mothers objected to their children being encouraged in the "martial arts."[267] Pacificists in the Labor Party early objected to the "militarism" of military drill.[268] But these objectors were perceived to be in the minority for military drill attracted much attention and received much praise from spectators. Even though there was the perceived wide acceptance of military drill over the years, toward the end of the first decade of the 1900s the pressure of population growth put limits on the subject. It was reported that the schools had grown so much the public displays could now only include older boys and much of the physical work was carried on with "an eye to this review." Younger boys and girls were being deprived of much of the perceived value of military drill and the School Board determined to make some readjustment.[269]

If the year 1907 had given rise to greater emphasis and change in manual training and military drill, it also saw the rise of an emphasis on providing a sense of community through playground work, the introduction of school gardening and the creation of night schools for immigrants. Playground sport which had for many years been organized on a strictly amateur basis in the city[270] was now highlighted in the School Board's Annual Report as a school activity of a highly organized nature. This followed directly on a visit to the city by Jacob Riis, a noted United States urban reformer[271] who believed that the battle with the slum was fought out in and around the public school. Riis believed that kindergartens, manual training and the cooking school brought common sense in their train, and when such common sense ruled the city's public schools "we can put off our armor, the battle with the slum will be over."[272] Riis also believed that the playground was a powerful reforming instrument. He "ranked the playground high among the wholesome counterinfluences to the saloon, street gang, and similar evils."[273] While in Winnipeg, Riis stated "the school meant the training of men and women far more than it meant acquiring facts." He indicated, "The right to play ball is as necessary to any country as the habeas corpus and should be held as sacred." The reformation of slum people and the abolition of slums was, according to Riis, "religion and patriotism and common sense all rolled into one."[274]

It is not surprising that in 1907 thirty-eight teams in football and a similar number in lacrosse were organized under the direct supervision of "upper level" teachers. Team sports of this nature had their roots in British tradition and their use in Winnipeg was expected to offer many social benefits. The Winnipeg Public School Board reflected older British ideas in stating:

> The principals of the schools and some of the Collegiate assistants, and manual training masters, give freely of their leisure time to encourage and direct this work. Its purpose is not only to advance the physical well-being of the boys, but to train them to habits of control, and to unselfish cooperation for a common end. As a field for moral training the playground gives opportunities not found elsewhere. 275

The international secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), Dr. Fisher, in speaking to about 200 of Winnipeg's "foremost civic leaders" in 1908, addressed himself to some of the opportunities offered by the playground. He indicated it was necessary for sport to be of "the highest class." He stated his belief.

> The boy who had no sport would grow into the man who had no job and the boy who had bad sport would grow into the man who had a job which he ought not to have. In New York it had been shown that in portions of the city where playgrounds were provided for the boys the police had little to do. There was no more efficient preventative of crime among boys than the provision of adequate playgrounds. 276

Fisher went on to deal with the relation of sport to good morals and conduct. He indicated there was need for action on the part of those who desired the welfare of the race.[277]

An educational reform leader who desired the "welfare of the race" was W. J. Sisler of the Strathcona School in the north end. He declared there were thousands who needed to be lifted from the depths of "ignorance, filth and crime." He clearly expressed his belief, "between the alien child of today [1906] and the citizen of tomorrow stands the school which must take a large share of the responsibility in determining what kind of citizen the child shall become."[278] He, therefore, made great use of the playground and organized sport. Chafe quotes Sisler as saying:

> Another activity we found conducive to self discipline was athletics. At recesses, at noons and after school we taught both boys and girls, not only simple games, but the team games--they were amazed at the sight of a football bouncing, and they learned eagerly and fast. In fact, in a few years our school teams were winning their share and more of city championships. . . . 279

In later years it was publicly acknowledged in the city that the education of immigrant children in the north end depended on the playground as much as the classroom.[280] All that was related to physical activity among boys and girls in military drill or playground activities, whether in the north end or elsewhere, was rigidly structured and carefully supervised. It bore little resemblance to the free play activities that were pursued in the rural village of the past. Even for children who did not engage in team sports, the playgrounds at the schools began to be equipped with playground devices and supervisors.[281] Play became a minutely regulated activity very unlike the past when games were relatively unstructured and did not involve large team schedules.

Another innovation in the schools that became highly structured was gardening. Sisler began to promote gardening in Strathcona School in the north end in 1907.[282] In an article in the Western School Journal he indicated what was expected from gardening. He believed that it could bring some of the advantages of the country into the city. It could benefit the health of children who were, according to Sisler, "too much confined to the house or the dusty street." It could also form the powers of observation and the habit of enquiry and experiment as it gave the child "knowledge of nature at first hand." Gardening was also perceived to have aesthetic value as the child was given a sense of proportion and a training in the sense of color when cultivating flowers. Sisler indicated:

> We found that gardening was an effective means of inculcating an attitude of self-discipline. A child who "owns" a garden plot is proud of it, wants to keep it cultivated and orderly, develops a respect for other people's property and takes good care of tools which he owns in common with others. 283

Sisler believed gardening could keep a child from crime, cure juvenile delinquency and generally teach the child "how to earn, how to save, how to spend and how to give."[284] Superintendent McIntyre indicated:

> Every small child can learn [from school gardening] how the necessities of everyday life are produced and that labor is required to produce. Failure to learn this lesson is the cause of much of the dishonesty among children who are accustomed to get anything they want without any adequate effort on their own part. 285

The program, as it was precisely graded, followed bureaucratic organization similar to that in manual training. Grade one children planted sweet peas, candytuft or nasturtiums according to the decision of the teacher. These flowers were planted in pots with special instructions being given by the teachers. Grades two and three also planted flowers but they were also permitted to plant vegetables. Their work was similar to grade one work but they were given typewritten instructions on planting. In grades four, five and six more attention was given to vegetable gardens.[286] Prizes were offered to the children and were believed to stimulate "interest in the work."[287]

In 1909 the work was expanded to the Machray, Luxton and Clifton schools.[288] There were thirty school plots and twenty seven home gardens entered for competition for prizes. A list of the prize winners in each grade was published in the school's annual report.[289] Gardening, which was a simple voluntary exercise in the rural past, now became a regular structured exercise. Plots were "equally divided" and children worked at their assigned tasks. It took what had once been an individual enterprise and made it a large complex operation in order to teach orderly self-disciplined life.

If playgrounds and school gardening were seen as being of special benefit to immigrants, the creation of the night school was for their benefit alone. It was here a part of the regular school curriculum was made available to those who could not attend the day school. As early as 1904 a group of north end residents petitioned the School Board to introduce evening classes to enable immigrants to learn English.[290] This came at a time when manual training had just been taken over by the Board for both boys and girls, building requirements were a year behind and the Children's Home was in need of a special school.[291] It is not surprising no action was taken, but in 1907 the immigrants themselves requested a night school. Superintendent McIntyre reported:

> Early in the year a number of non-English citizens of the northern part of the city made application for the establishment of night schools, in order that they might have assistance in learning the language of the country in which they had cast their lot. 292

This application was made through Mayor James Ashdown who took up the immigrant's cause and "pressed" for the establishment of evening classes to instruct non-English speaking citizens in the English language.[293] There appears to have been a belief among educational leaders in Winnipeg that a knowledge of the English language would go

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far in homogenizing people in the city. There was a general idea that:

> The thought and feeling of a people are embedded in its speech, and one cannot acquire an idiomatic mastery of the tongue of a people without in some measure imbibing their thought and adopting their way of looking at things. 294

There were sixteen night schools established in November, 1907 following a visit of Superintendent McIntyre to other centres where night schools operated. Twelve of these schools were north of the Canadian Pacific Railway tracks and were designed for pupils of "about fourteen years of age" who desired elementary instruction.[295] The course was planned for twenty weeks, three evenings a week. Instruction was given by men from the day schools and was divided into departments. Students "over fourteen years of age regularly employed during the day" were enabled to take instruction in regular school subjects.[296] But irregular attendance was perceived as a problem almost from the beginning of the night schools.[297] In addition to this the enrollment dropped from 1,034 the first year to 946 in 1908 and to 781 in 1909.[298] Nevertheless, in early 1909 there were twenty departments with the addition of five more by the end of the year.[299] The government gave a grant to the night schools on the same basis as the day schools with two evening classes counting as one day for grant purposes. The educational leaders selected Aberdeen School in the north end in which to expand the night school curriculum so it would more closely resemble the day school. They added manual training courses in mechanical drawing and cooking.[300] The Winnipeg public schools not only had new courses added to the curriculum but now had a whole new division of the schools that was designed to homogenize the population. It represented an expansion of the tightly controlled bureaucratic organization of the Winnipeg schools.

The irregular attendance that was perceived to be a problem in the night school had been regarded a problem in the day school for many years. As early as 1893 educational leaders were lamenting "irregular attendance" and by 1908 they were referring to the need to combat "this evil of irregular attendance."[301] In 1893 the enrollment was 4,146 and the average attendance 3,527 or 85.6% of enrollment. In 1908 the enrollment was 15,499 with an average attendance of 10,208 or 65.8% of enrollment. Figures that year for the Aberdeen School in the north end were published and revealed an enrollment of 1,195 with an average attendance of 710.13 or 59%.[302] What concerned the educational leaders even more than the irregular attendance was that they perceived there were large numbers of children not enrolled in schools at all. Figures were published for the month of June, 1906 which revealed, according to the census conducted that month, over 2,000 children between six and fourteen years of age who were not enrolled in school.[304]

There appears to have been some basis for their concern for, as noted earlier in this thesis, the population in the north end during 1906 was 43.1% of the city population. The enrollment in north end schools in 1908 was 36.6% of the school enrollment in the city. When it is considered that the population in the north end in 1908 would still be larger than that for other specific areas, for it was a fast growing area, its school enrollment was less than its percentage of the population. The perception in the city was there were many immigrant children not enrolled in school and they were believed to pose a threat to society. Rev. Dr. Rose, a local clergyman, looked at

Winnipeg slum areas and expressed alarm over "the educational problem." He stated:

> These children are growing up without an education save in wickedness. Every day they are becoming a very serious menace to the country. The future, if this continues, is very alarming. There must be compulsory education. There must![305]

The city Ministerial Association, the Children's Aid Society, the Children's Home and the School Board all joined in calling for compulsory education. A spokesman for a number of citizens indicated:

> The people would do anything in their power to back up the School Board in their kick for compulsory education. 306

The Board indicated that Manitoba was behind most provinces in Canada in the matter of compulsory education.[307] This situation had developed as a result of the abolition of denominational schools in 1890, when Roman Catholics lost support for their separate schools. According to W. L. Morton the lack of a school attendance law had engaged the attention of the Roblin Government in 1900. It then, and later, on the advice of legal counsel, "accepted the view that a compulsory attendance law would violate the constitutional rights of Catholics to separate private schools and reopen the school question."[308]

Whatever uncertainties some may have had, Winnipeg educational leaders pressed for compulsory education. Mr. Hickock of the YMCA saw thousands of children growing up in ignorance and becoming "the greatest menace to the future of the city."[309] D. A. Ross, long time Winnipeg School Board member and member of the legislature, argued that democratic government required an educated people. The people of different nationalities needed to be taught "the same language, the same aspirations, and the same ideals of citizenship as our native

Canadians."[310] The Manitoba Teachers' Convention in Winnipeg in 1909 made it clear they regarded the matter with a sense of urgency. They stated:

> [This] is no time for procrastination . . . we might wait until our foreign population grew to outnumber us and pass a law for compulsory education of our English children in foreign schools. Such might happen if they are not educated in English schools now, and the only way to obtain this is by compulsory education. 311

It is not surprising that the Provincial Government was moved to take some action to accommodate the city of Winnipeg. Negotiations were begun to formally make use of the Children's Protection Act as a compulsory education law. This Act was passed in 1902 and made provision for the establishment of Children's Aid Societies in the province and contained the following provisions.

> Any officer, constable or policeman may apprehend, without warrant, and bring before a judge as neglected, any child apparently under the age of fourteen years, if a boy, and sixteen years, if a girl, who is within any of the following descriptions:
> (a) Who is found begging in any street, house or place of public resort;
> (b) Who is found wandering about at a late hour or sleeping at night in barns or outhouses, or in the open air;
> (c) Who is found associating or dwelling with a thief, drunkard or vagrant or who by reason of neglect or drunkenness or other vices of the parents or guardians of the child, is suffered to grow up without salutary parental control or education, or in circumstances exposing such child to idle and dissolute life;
> (d) Who is found in any disorderly house, or in the company of reputed criminal, immoral or disorderly people;
> (e) Who is a destitute orphan, or who has been deserted by his or her lawful parents or guardians.
> (f) Who is found guilty of petty crimes, or who is likely to develop criminal tendencies, if not removed from his or her surroundings.

Amendments were made to the Act in 1907 that added section G and H making the following provisions.

> (g) Or who frequents or visits any public poolroom or bucket

> shop, or place where any gambling device is or shall be operated:
> (h) Or is a habitual truant from school, or habitually wanders about the streets or public places during school hours, without any lawful occupation or employment. 312

The Provincial Government submitted section H as the basis for enforcing children to attend school. Many in Winnipeg were not wholly pleased with this for it made no provision for children who had never registered in school and it exempted children who worked.[313] Nevertheless, it was accepted as better than nothing and the Provincial Government instituted a truant officer patrol in 1910. These officers "rounded up" children playing "hookey" and put newsboys under "strict supervision." School principals praised the new system. Mr. Clipperton of LaVerendrye school indicated:

> It is a fine thing, just as good as a truant officer where compulsory education is in force, to give us the whip hand over those pupils who are inclined to truancy, and the fact they know his visits are sure, keeps them in line. 314

W. J. Sisler of the Strathcona School in the north end lauded the new action to get children into school. He stated it was very helpful in cases where parents lack control of their children. Such cases, according to Sisler, used to be hard for the school to deal with but were now being adequately handled.[315]

In this attempt to realize regularity and predictability in the urban environment the educational leaders had now, in a significant measure, made the child the captive of a rigid and uniform system. The last vestige of voluntarism had now vanished for any child registered in school. His behavior was now engineered so that it could be controlled, reliable and predictable. Certified thoughts were inculcated and independence of mind disappeared. Military methods were adopted and a "lock step" uniform speed became standard. Rules for the behavior of members of the organization were implemented and objective qualifications governed admission to various roles. Uniformity of output and regularity of operation were emphasized. The individual student and the individual teacher were submerged in the organization and the flexibility of the past disappeared in the large institution. This institution which had numbered 61 teachers, 13 school houses and 4,000 pupils in 1890 had by 1908 grown to 266 teachers, 34 school houses, and 15,229 pupils.

The Winnipeg public schools had become a rigid bureaucratic system with school buildings, teachers and curriculum organized in every detail on what may be called a military industrial model. The similarity of the school organization to the industrial organization in the city, was recognized by men like W. Sanford Evans, mayor of the city, in 1908. In an address at the cornerstone laying of King Edward School in the north end, which has been noted earlier, he stated that in erecting this school they were creating a larger industrial enterprise in education. According to Evans--

> It was a branch of the great educational factory of the nation. Among all the industries there was none so important as that which took the raw material and moulded it into intelligent and useful citizens of the nation. 316

As the Winnipeg School Board was concluding its Annual Report in 1908 reference was made to the large complex organization that had developed and the words "educational machinery" were used.[317] A year earlier the Manitoba Free Press reported on Winnipeg schools and used the same terminology. The report indicated, "It took years to have the machinery in educational matters in proper running order."[318]

These years saw the total centralization of the system in 1890 which led, almost immediately, to the creation of new positions. The need to provide buildings for a growing urban center led the Board to appoint a "building inspector" who would supervise the entire school building program. The addition of new subjects to the curriculum led to the appointment of special supervisors in new subject areas. The emphasis on qualified personnel to efficiently handle teaching responsibilities led to the development of a system of varying degrees of expertise which in turn produced a hierarchical professional structure with varying levels of qualification for office. Rules and regulations came to dominate the school system, which were soon to culminate in legal changes which made school attendance compulsory for children under fourteen years of age. The School Board members attempt to inculcate uniform British values in a changing urban population led them to adopt a bureaucratic organizational structure in the schools. Centralization of control and supervision, differentiation of function, qualification for office and rules defining behavior patterns were all evident in the system.

As these developments were taking place the press, which had referred to them as "educational machinery," summarized some of them and made reference to "thirty magnificent buildings built of brick and stone on capacious lots." The work of a "building inspector" as a man responsible for providing "suitable accommodation" was noted. It was pointed out there were 245 teachers who had qualifications that made them "inferior to none" in Canada. These teachers, who were indicated as having responsibility for 26,000 children in the classrooms, were said to work with a curriculum that taught children more than simply how to read and write. The whole educational enterprise was reported as being presided over by a School Board which had a Superintendent who so directed the work that he was largely responsible for its "success."[319]

Clearly this was not the simple, flexible, free environment of the rural village of the past. It was a structure in which many of the educational reform leaders' values had been submerged. Individuality, independence, freedom and flexibility, were things now more to be remembered than experienced. An article appeared in the June 8, 1908 issue of the Western School Journal entitled, "Hold Fast That Which is Good." It summarized what had occurred in the schools. The unnamed writer indicated the rule of the school subdues "individualities" and "personal excellencies are sacrificed to uniformity." The rules and regulations of the school combine with the course of studies to fashion all pupils in a common mould without regard for "peculiar needs and special gifts." All "music of voice" is crushed out of the child and in its place is "a dreary monotone." The courage of self expression is also crushed out of the child. He does not dare to speak or draw with any freedom. A question that is asked is met with the stereotyped "we haven't had that yet." The "we" itself tells a significant story. Individual effort is not recognized but praise goes to results which appear most favorably on "impersonal comparison."[320] Tyack, in examining this kind of rigid bureaucracy in the United States referred to it as "the old fashioned military model of bureaucracy."

NOTES

[1] Manitoba Free Press, January 18, 1929.

[2] Winnipeg Protestant School Board, Annual Report (1886), pp. 33-35.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Robert H. Wiebe, The Search for Order (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), pp. xiii-xiv.

[5] W. L. Morton, Manitoba: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), pp. 52-53.

[6] Manitoba Free Press, April 14, 1890, p. 6.

[7] Donald Andrew Ross, whose grandfather was said to belong to "Tain, Rosshire" and to have come to Canada to settle in Middlesex County, served on the School Board from 1886 to 1895 and then again from 1898 to 1910. He was a Presbyterian born at Nairn, Ontario in Middlesex County and received his public school education at Nairn. In 1875, when he was 16 years of age, he settled in Manitoba, homesteading at Springfield. He later established D. A. Ross and Company, a real estate firm that operated in Winnipeg, and conducted the business of the firm and his farming operation at the same time. In addition to his public service on the School Board he also served as a member of the provincial legislature. Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1920). Scrapbook, book 4, P. A. M., p. 105. F. H. Schofield, The Story of Manitoba, vol. 2 (Winnipeg, Vancouver, Montreal: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1913), pp. 58-59.

Another long time member of the School Board was Dr. Edward Benson, a city physician. He was a Methodist born in Peterboro, Ontario and received his early education at Peterboro's Grammar School. His medical training was obtained in Kentucky and New York after which he obtained his Canadian certification in medicine. He had a medical practice at Peterboro and Lindsay, Ontario for 10 years prior to moving to Manitoba in 1874 when he was 31 years old. His service on the School Board extended from 1888 to 1900. Scrapbook, book 1, P. A. M., p. 131. Manitoba Free Press, August 27, 1904, n.p. Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1920).

Still another School Board member who was repeatedly elected to the Board was David W. Bole. He was a Presbyterian born in Lambton County, Ontario and educated at Watford Common Schools and the Woodstock Collegiate. He studied pharmacy in Toronto and worked at Watford and Brigden, Ontario before moving west. He moved to Regina in 1882 when he was 26 years old. He later moved to Winnipeg in 1889 where he pursued the business of a wholesale druggist under the firm name of Davison, Bole and Company. This company later became known as the Martin, Bole and Wynne Company. Bole served on the School Board from 1895 to 1902. In addition to his public service on the School Board he served as a member of parliament and also as a city alderman. B. M. Greene, ed., Who's Who and Why (Toronto: International Press, 1917-1918), p. 1118. Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1920).

John McKechnie also served for a long time on the School Board. He was a Presbyterian born at Loch Lomond, Scotland. He received some of his public education in Glasgow but was also educated in the public schools in Paris, Ontario. McKechnie became a millwright and worked in Bruce County prior to moving to Winnipeg and establishing a foundry in 1872 when he was 28 years of age. He served on the School Board from 1896 to 1903 and again from 1908 to 1911. F. H. Schofield, The Story of Manitoba, vol. 2, pp. 29-31. Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1920).

A man who served on the School Board for the longest time, during the 1890-1920 period, was John Archibald McKerchar. He was a Presbyterian born at St. Elmo, Ontario. He moved to Winnipeg where he established a wholesale and retail grocery business in 1881 at the age of 19. His service on the School Board began in 1898 and continued through the period to 1920. Greene, ed., Who's Who and Why (1917-1918), p. 670. Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1920).

Arthur Congdon served on the School Board for almost as long a period of time as John McKerchar. Congdon was a Congregationalist born at Cornwallis, Nova Scotia and educated at Berwick Public School in Berwick, Nova Scotia. He arrived in Winnipeg in 1882 when he was 19 years old. After serving with the Hudson's Bay Company he entered the wholesale shoe business in 1895 and later organized the firm of Congdon-Marsh Ltd. W. J. McRaye, Pioneers and Prominent People of Manitoba (Winnipeg: Canadian Publicity Co., 1925), p. 145. Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1920).

[8] J. S. Ewart, The Manitoba School Question (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1894), p. 283.

[9] Manitoba Free Press, November 12, 1898, p. 7.

[10] Canada: Sessional Papers, vol. 24, no. 13, 1897, p. 6.

[11] Manitoba Free Press, March 6, 1913, p. 3.

[12] Winnipeg Protestant School Board Annual Report, December 31, 1888, pp. 14-15. Also January 31, 1888, p. 6.

[13] Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1891, p. 119.

[14] Winnipeg Protestant School Board, Annual Report (1889), p. 12.

[15] Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1891, p. 118.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Manitoba Free Press, December 9, 1892, p. 5.

An account of the location, size and value of these early buildings can be found in the annual reports of the Winnipeg Public School Board.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1891, p. 118.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Manitoba Free Press, December 9, 1892, p. 5.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Winnipeg Public School Board Annual Report, 1893, p. 5.

[25] Ibid., pp. 36-37.

[26] Raymond E. Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency (The University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 244.

[27] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1895), p. 47.

[28] Ibid., 1896, p. 38.

[29] Ibid., p. 17.

[30] Ibid., pp. 41-42.

[31] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1899), p. 16.

[32] Educational Journal of Western Canada, October 1900, p. 509.

[33] Manitoba Free Press, August 28, 1901, p. 3.

[34] A. R. of the Department of Education, 1891, p. 119.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Dr. D. J. Goggin was the principal of the Normal School in Winnipeg from 1884 to 1892 when he resigned to go to Regina to organize the Normal School of the Northwest Territories. Western School Journal, September, 1919, p. 278 Also The Story of Manitoba Vol.II (Winnipeg, Vancouver, Montreal: S. J. Clark Publishing Company, 1913), p. 106.

[37] Manitoba Free Press, December 9, 1892, p. 5.

[38] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1891), p. 119.

[39] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1893), pp. 34-35.

[40] Ibid., 1894, p. 29.

[41] Ibid., 1897, p. 48.

[42] Ibid., 1893, p. 35.

[43] Ibid., 1904, p. 32

[44] Ibid., 1904, p. 13.

[45] Ibid., p. 33.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid., 1905, p. 59.

[48] Ibid., 1908, p. 46.

[49] Ibid., 1897, p. 23.

[50] Manitoba Free Press, November 12, 1898, p. 7.

[51] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1898), pp. 22-23.

[52] Ibid., 1908, p. 43.

[53] George Chipman, "The Refining Process," The Canadian Magazine, vol. 33, May 1909-October 1909, Incl., p. 550.

[54] Alan F. J. Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1877-1914 (Montreal and London: McGill-Queens University Press, 1975), Appendix, table 1.

[55] Ibid., Compilation of statistics.

[56] Sybil Shack, "The Education of Immigrant Children During the First Two Decades of This Century," Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions series 3, no. 30, 1973-74, p. 25.

[57] Ibid., p. 18.

[58] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1907), p. 44.

[59] Ibid., 1908, p. 41.

[60] Manitoba Free Press, May 6, 1908, p. 4.

[61] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1908), p. 44.

[62] Ibid., 1908, p. 45.

[63] Manitoba Free Press, August 31, 1908, p. 2.

[64] Ibid., may 6, 1908, p. 4.

[65] Ibid., October 10, 1908, p. 24.

[66] Wiebe, p. 146.

[67] Manitoba Free Press, August 31, 1908, p. 2.

[68] Artibise, A compilation of statistics from Winnipeg: A Social History and from Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report for 1895, 1900, 1905, and 1908.

[69] Compiled from data found in Winnipeg Public School Board Annual Report for 1895, 1900, 1905, 1908.

[70] Manitoba Free Press, August 15, 1899, p. 5.

[71] Artibise, p. 163.

[72] Educational Journal of Western Canada, vol. 2, no. 7, November 1900, p. 531.

[73] See Appendix, Table 2.

[74] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1891), p. 119.

[75] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1897), p. 19.

[76] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1891), p. 124.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1896), p. 18.

[79] Educational Journal of Western Canada, October 1902, pp. 188-189.

[80] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1898), p. 16.

[81] Ibid., 1893, p. 37.

[82] Ibid., 1898, p. 16.

[83] Manitoba Free Press, April 19, 1906, p. 16.

[84] Ibid., April 6, 1907, p. 9.

[85] Ibid., March 24, 1909, p. 9.

[86] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1893), p. 10.

[87] Manitoba Free Press, December 10, 1896, p. 6.

[88] Ibid., February 8, 1909, p. 5.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1893), p. 9.

[91] Winnipeg Protestant School Board, Annual Report (1888), p. 15.

[92] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1896), p. 18.

[93] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1891), p. 122.

[94] Ibid., p. 123.

[95] David Tyack, "Bureaucracy and the Common School: An Example of Portland, Oregon, 1851-1913," American Quarterly, vol. 19, Fall 1967, p. 495.

[96] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1894), pp. 11-12.

[97] Manitoba Free Press, December 9, 1892, p. 5.

[98] William J. Wilson, "Daniel McIntyre and Education in Winnipeg," M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1978, p. 24.

[99] Manitoba Free Press, October 24, 1890, p. 4.

[100] Ibid., April 15, 1896, pp. 1,4.

[101] J. W. Chafe, An Apple for the Teacher (Winnipeg: Hignall Printing Co. Ltd., 1967), p. 48.

[102] Manitoba Free Press, November 29, 1900, p. 2.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Ibid.

[105] Ibid., December 10, 1900, p. 9.

[106] Keith Wilson, "The Development of Education in Manitoba," Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University, 1967, p. 180.

[107] Paul Rutherford, "Tomorrows Metropolis: The Urban Reform Movement in Canada, 1880-1920," in *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History*, ed. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F. J. Artibise, Toronto, 1977, p. 379.

[108] Winnipeg Public School Board, *Annual Report* (1905), p. 26.

[109] Tyack, p. 479.

[110] Manitoba Department of Education, *Annual Report* (1891), p. 121.

[111] *Manitoba Free Press*, May 3, 1907, p. 4.

[112] *Educational Journal of Western Canada*, vol. 4, no. 9, January 1903, p. 272.

[113] Winnipeg Public School Board, *Annual Report* (1896), p. 18.

[114] Ibid., 1903, p. 20.

[115] Ibid., 1902, p. 21.

[116] Ibid., 1904, p. 12.

[117] Ibid., 1903, p. 45.

[118] Ibid., 1905, p. 21.

[119] Ibid., 1900, pp. 37-38.

[120] *Manitoba Free Press*, April 18, 1906, p. 9.

[121] Winnipeg Public School Board, *Annual Report* (1893), p. 13.

[122] Ursula Stendel Hendon, "Herbart's Concept of Morality in Education and its Role in America," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alabama, 1980), p. 160.

[123] Paul Edward ed., *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (New York: Macmillan, 1967), p. 484.

[124] Luella Cole, *A History of Education* (New York: Rinehart and Company, 1950), pp. 495-6.

[125] William J. Wilson, p. 69.

[126] Cole, p. 36[illegible].

[127] Ibid., p. 361.

[128] Hendon, p. 163.

[129] Ibid.

[130] Manitoba Free Press, April 5, 1907.

[131] Educational Journal of Western Canada, vol. 2, no. 1, March 1900, p. 332.

[132] Ibid., p. 333.

[133] Ibid., vol. 4, no. 1, March 1902, p. 23.

[134] Ibid., vol. 2, no. 4, June-July 1900, p. 184.

[135] Ibid., vol. 4, no. 7, November 1902, p. 210.

[136] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1903), p. 20.

[137] William M. Wall, "The Advisory Board in the Development of Public School Education in Manitoba." M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1939, p. 218.

[138] Ibid., p. 151.

[139] Manitoba Free Press, February 11, 1891.

[140] Wall, p. 221.

[141] Educational Journal of Western Canada, vol. 4, no. 6, October 1902, p. 190.

[142] Shack, p. 30.

[143] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1895), p. 28.

[144] Wall, p. 222.

[145] Ibid.

[146] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1898), p. 19.

[147] Educational Journal of Western Canada, vol. 4, no. 3, May 1902, p. 76.

[148] Chafe, p. 29.

[149] Shack, p. 30.

[150] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1899), p. 24.

[151] Robert M. Stamp, "Canadian Education and the National Identity," Journal of Educational Thought, vol. 5, no. 6, 1971-72, p. 102.

[152] Robert M. Stamp, "Empire Day in the Schools of Ontario: The Training of Young Imperialists," Journal of Canadian Studies, vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 32-35.

[153] Evans arrived in Winnipeg in 1901 after having pursued journalistic and business interests in Toronto. He became editor of the Winnipeg Telegram and president of the Telegram Printing Company. In 1905 he left the newspaper business and became senior partner in the financial agency and brokerage house of W. Sanford Evans and Company. He became widely involved in Winnipeg's business community and was elected mayor of the city in 1908. Frank Howard Schofield, The Story of Manitoba, Pictorial and Biographical, vol 2 (Winnipeg: S. J. Clark, 1913), pp. 66-67.

[154] Stamp, p. 36.

[155] Educational Journal of Western Canada, vol. 4, no. 3, May 1902, p. 81

[156] Ibid., p. 84.

[157] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1900), p. 18.

[158] Western School Journal, vol. 1, no. 9, November 1906, p. 1.

[159] Manitoba Free Press, March 2, 1909, p. 5.

Thomas Mayne Daly was born in Stratford, Ontario. He received his education in the local schools of Stratford and at Upper Canada College, Toronto. He became a lawyer and moved west at the age of 29 in 1881, settling first in Winnipeg and later in Brandon. He moved back to Winnipeg when he became Police Magistrate and was appointed the first Juvenile Court Judge in Canada. Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions, Series 3, No. 34 and 35 (1977-1978 and 1978-1979), p. 51.

[160] Ibid., October 15, 1910.

[161] Shack, p. 30.

[162] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1895), p. 28.

[163] Wall, p. 153.

[164] Chafe, p. 51.

[165] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1898), pp. 18-19.

[166] Ibid., 1903, p. 19.

[167] Ibid., 1893, p. 10.

[168] Ibid., 1895, p. 28.

[169] Ibid., 1899, p. 15.

[170] Ibid., 1904, p. 13.

[171] Chafe, p. 78.

[172] Winnipeg Public School Board, *Annual Report* (1901), p. 16.

[173] *Educational Journal of Western Canada*, vol. 2, no. 9, January 1901, pp. 596-597.

[174] Ibid., vol. 2, no. 1, March 1900, p. 332.

[175] Manitoba Department of Education, *Annual Report* (1891), p. 123.

[176] Ibid., p. 119.

Playground sport in England developed into "a cult of manliness." The Victorian public schools and universities underwent a transition in values from Arnold's "godliness and good learning" to the idea of manliness associated with athletics. In addition to this, playground sport was associated with the idea that a pupil learned, through sport, how to merge his "individual interests in those of the whole." J. R. de S. Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe: The Development of the Victorian Public School* (London: Wellington Books Ltd., 1977), pp. 105-117.

[177] *Educational Journal of Western Canada*, vol, 2, no. 8, December 1900, p. 571.

[178] Ibid., vol. 4, no. 9, January 1903, p. 272.

[179] *Western School Journal*, vol. 2, no. 9, 1906, p. 78.

In 1871 military drill was recognized in England as a means "to inculcate a sense of discipline and prompt obedience to orders amongst a large group of children." It was taught by "the sergeant of the local volunteers" and the boys received instruction in marching in different military formations in the school yard. Contests were arranged between schools and banners were given to schools which distinguished themselves in the drill. S. J. Curtis, *History of Education in Great Britain* (London: University Tutorial Press, 1953), p. 298.

[180] Manitoba Department of Education, *Annual Report* (1891), p. 122.

[181] Winnipeg Public School Board, *Annual Report* (1893), p. 12.

[182] *Manitoba Free Press*, December 16, 1893, p. 1.

[183] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1893), p. 119.

[184] Manitoba Free Press, April 30, 1890, p. 4.

[185] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1893), p. 34.

[186] Educational Journal of Western Canada, vol. 4, no. 2, April 1902, p. 43.

[187] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1895), p. 29.

[188] Ibid., 1895, p. 28.

[189] Ibid., 1896, p. 19.

[190] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1896), p. 29.

[191] Minutes of the Winnipeg Public School Board, December 28, 1894.

[192] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1898), p. 24.

[193] Ibid., p. 20.

[194] Western School Journal, vol. 1, no. 9, November 1906, p. 8.

[195] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1900), p. 18.

[196] Ibid., 1900, p. 44.

[197] Western School Journal, vol. 1, no. 9, November 1906, p. 8.

[198] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1905), p. 23.

[199] Manitoba Free Press, November 28, 1896, p. 2.

[200] The Voice, December 17, 1897.

[201] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1899), p. 22.

[202] Ibid., 1891, p. 28.

[203] Ibid., 1896, p. 21.

[204] Ibid., p. 25.

[205] Ibid., 1898, p. 24.

[206] Ibid., 1896, p. 21.

[207] Ibid., p. 23.

This was a significant decision in Winnipeg for it reflected the influence of educators who had adopted manual training and who, according to Lawrence Cremin, were publicly identified in 1889 as educational progressives who believed in "putting the whole boy" in school. Lawrence Cremin, The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education 1876-1957 (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), pp. 30-31.

[208] Ibid., 1898, p. 20.

[209] Manitoba Free Press, December 20, 1898, p. 5.

[210] Ibid.

[211] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1899), p. 26.

[212] Manitoba Free Press, January 18, 1900, p. 3.

[213] Ibid., September 19, 1898, p. 2.

[214] Winnipeg Tribune, September 19, 1898, p. 5.

[215] Journal of Educational Thought, vol. 8, no. 2, p. 106.

[216] Educational Journal of Western Canada, vol. 2, no. 8, December 1900, p. 554.

[217] Ibid., vol. 3, no. 2, April, 1901, p. 56.

[218] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1901), p. 17.

[219] Ibid., 1907, p. 16.

[220] Educational Journal of Western Canada, vol. 2, no. 8, December, 1900, p. 554.

[221] Ibid., vol. 2, no. 9, January, 1901, p. 586.

When Warters made reference to sight and touch as means of education in manual training he was reflecting a link with an older Pestalozzian idea of education. But in promoting manual training he was responding to the demand of an industrial society for more practical training.

Lawrence Cremin has examined what he calls the completely pluralistic and contradictory character of progressivism in education. He indicates that the demand for practical training combined "in a characteristic American way the political claims of an expanding industrial economy with an older Pestalozzian idea that worthy education deals with 'whole children'--hands and hearts as well as heads." Lawrence Cremin, "The Progressive Movement in American

Education: a Perspective," American Educational Review, vol. 27, no. 4, Fall 1957, p. 257.

[222] Ibid., vol 4, no. 5, August-September 1902, p. 134.

[223] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1903), pp. 17-18.

[224] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1903), p. 21.

[225] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1904), p. 12.

[226] Johanna Gudrun Wilson, A History of Home Economics Education in Manitoba (Winnipeg: The Manitoba Home Economics Association, 1969), p. 32.

[227] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1905), p. 30.

[228] Manitoba Free Press, April 5, 1907, p. 11.

[229] Western School Journal, vol. 20, no. 9, January 1903, p. 284.

[230] Manitoba Free Press, February 2, 1905, p. 7.

[231] Ibid., December 22, 1905, p. 14.

[232] Ibid., April 2, 1906, p. 4.

[233] Ibid., January 17, 1907, p. 4 and April 6, 1907, p. 16.

[234] Manitoba Free Press, April 6, 1907, p. 16.

[235] Ibid., April 18, 1906, p. 13.

[236] Western School Journal, vol. 1, no. 6, June 1906, p. 7.

[237] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1904), p. 13.

[238] Ibid., 1895, p. 27.

[239] Ibid., 1905, p. 58.

[240] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1907), p. 26.

[241] Western School Journal, vol. 3, no. 7, September 1906, p. 8. See also Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1891), p. 126.

[242] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1906), p. 26.

[243] Ibid., 1916-17, p. 227.

[244] Ibid., 1907, p. 26.

[245] Ibid.

[246] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1907), p. 26.

[247] Educational Journal of Western Canada, vol. 2, no. 9, January 1901, p. 602.

[248] Shack, p. 31.

[249] Manitoba Free Press, Many 4, 1907, p. 4.

[250] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1907), p. 16.

[251] Ibid.

[252] Ibid., 1908, p. 14.

[253] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1909), p. 29.

[254] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1909), p. 13.

[255] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1908), p. 416.

[256] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1909), p. 28.

[257] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1907), p. 20.

[258] Ibid., p. 18.

[259] Ibid., 1907, p. 25.

[260] Ibid., p. 18.

[261] Manitoba Free Press, April 15, 1908, p. 7.

[262] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1909), p. 28.

[263] Chafe, p. 65.

[264] Shack, p. 29.

[265] Manitoba Free Press, October 15, 1910.

[266] Chafe, pp. 80-81.

[267] James H. Gray, The Boy from Winnipeg (Toronto: Macmillan, 1970), p. 91.

[268] The Voice, October 7, 1901.

[269] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1910), p. 23.

[270] Morton, p. 256.

[271] Manitoba Free Press, December 4, 1906.

[272] Lawrence A. Cremin, The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education 1876-1957 (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), p. 85.

[273] Paul Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order in America 1820-1920 (Cambridge, Mass. 1978), p. 245.

[274] Manitoba Free Press, December 4, 1906.

[275] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1907), p. 18.

By 1860 there was a general tendency in England for games to be organized. The emphasis was not just on the skill of play but the experience of organization. A new master-boy relationship developed in organized games as masters taught the boys how to play the games. The danger of "indiscipline" was believed to be alleviated through these sports activities with many people crediting athletics with improvement of morals "not only of individuals but of whole classes." J. R. de S. Honey, Tom Brown's Universe: The Development of the Victorian Public School (London: Wellington Books Ltd., 1977), pp. 105-107.

[276] Manitoba Free Press, April 7, 1908, p. 7

[277] Ibid.

[278] Western School Journal, vol. 1, no. 4, April 1906, p. 5.

[279] Chafe, p. 65.

[280] Manitoba Free Press, August 16, 1956.

[281] Western School Journal, vol. 5, no. 4, April 1910, p. 226.

[282] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1909), p. 36.

[283] Chafe, p. 65.

[284] Western School Journal, vol. 5, no. 4, April 1910, p. 141.

[285] manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1909), p. 27.

[286] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1908), p. 18.

[287] Ibid., 1909, p. 13.

[288] Ibid.

[289] Ibid. p. 14.

[290] Manitoba Free Press, December 15, 1904, p. 7.

[291] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1904), p. 13.

[292] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1907), p. 21.

[293] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1907), p. 19.

[294] Ibid., 1914, p. 42.

[295] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1907), p. 21.

[296] Ibid., 1908, p. 419.

[297] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1908), p. 29.

[298] See Appendix, table 3.

[299] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1909), p. 29.

[300] Ibid., 1910, p. 21.

[301] Ibid., 1908, p. 12.

[302] Manitoba Free Press, December 8, 1913.

[303] Ibid., march 2, 1902, pp. 5, 7.

[304] Ibid., February 8, 1909, p. 5.

[305] Western School Journal, vol. 3, no. 7, September 1908, p. 254.

[306] Manitoba Free Press, August 31, 1908, p. 2.

[307] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1908), p. 29.

[308] W. R. Morton, "Manitoba Schools and Canadian Nationalism 1890-1923," The Canadian Historical Association, 1951.

[309] Manitoba Free Press, June 12, 1909.

[310] Ibid., March 2, 1909, p. 5.

[311] Ibid., April 16, 1909, p. 5.

[312] Ibid., May 10, 1909, p. 4.

[313] Ibid.

[314] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1912-13), p. 149.

[315] Ibid., p. 150.

[316] Manitoba Free Press, October 10, 1908, p. 24.

[317] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1908), p. 22.

[318] Manitoba Free Press, September 30, 1907, p. 5.

[319] Ibid.

[320] Western School Journal, June 1908, pp. 208-209.

CHAPTER V

Promoting the Differentiated Society

While reform minded educational leaders were endeavoring to give special attention to manual training, military drill, organized sports, gardening and compulsory education, they were aware that further changes had to be made in the schools if the values of the past were to be preserved. As early as 1901 there was some recognition that the pursuit of uniformity would have to give way to a recognition of individual differences. As the school population increased individual differences became apparent. Between 1890 and 1900 the school population increased from around 4,000 to 7,500. In 1897 it was noted there were ten native languages spoken by the children in the schools. In addition to this, in 1901 statistics were published that revealed significant retardation among many elementary school pupils. It is not surprising then in the same year as the statistics on retardation were published the Educational Journal of Western Canada carried an article that indicated:

> The advent of reform in our schools . . . is of vital importance to us all. That reform will consist in the separation of our classes, both in the grammar schools and high school, into groups that are about to finish their school days and groups that are preparing to advance further. There is a great deal to be said in favor of a different system which could classify them on the basis of the probable duration of their studies. 1

By 1906 there were over 13,000 children in the public schools. If individual differences were noted in 1901 when the school enrollment was 7,000 pupils, these differences were much more noticeable in 1906 when the enrollment was 13,000. Agitation began for a change of direction in the schools that would see the goal of schooling shift from a preoccupation with homogenization of pupils to the provision of schooling that would recognize the individual and individual differences.

In 1906 R. R. J. Brown, principal of Somerset School was convinced that this kind of change was needed in Winnipeg schools. He analyzed a study conducted by a commission on industrial and technical education in Massachusetts. He found that an undercurrent of dissatisfaction with existing educational facilities existed in Massachusetts. Children left school early without completing the common school courses, and were found to be lacking in industrial intelligence and manual efficiency. Workers were found to be dissatisfied "concerning their condition but not concerning their limitations." Strikes were prevalent but strikers were not perceived to have a general desire for self improvement. It was thought industrial education in some form could meet the difficulties and "better prepare the children for what must be their vocation in life."[2]

Brown noted the study revealed the schools in Massachusetts were giving all their time to literary concerns at a time when the apprentice system had broken down and there was a need for trained workers. The study further revealed some limited accommodation to the demand for workers was made with the introduction of drawing and manual training to the school program. But these programs were lost in the overwhelming literary atmosphere of the schools and no longer had a "practical trend." The new subjects became cultural and disciplinary and workers called them "fads and frills."[3]

Brown also noted the study divided the callings of life into four groups: professional, commercial, industrial and domestic. It was found there was sufficient training provided in the professional and commercial callings but little attention was given to industrial and domestic callings "even though they have in them an overwhelming majority of the population." The majority of recruits to industries were from the common school but the school had failed to qualify them for their work. Children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen could only obtain the most menial work and had their "physical, moral and mental powers . . . stunted, perverted and weakened." It was noted the parents desired industrial training for their children. It was further noted, employers were interested in seeing industrial training introduced to the schools and it appeared children had an increased interest in schooling when practical subjects were offered. It became clear in the study that changes were needed in the school program and that in making these changes careful consideration would have to be given to making provision for children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen.[4] It was recommended elementary education be modified to include industrial and domestic training and care be taken that it be cultural as well as practical. It was further recommended the high school program be altered so as to provide subjects relating to existing conditions and elective industrial courses be available to the students. In the altering of the high school program provision was to be made for part time day classes for children between fourteen and eighteen who may be at work. Furthermore, provision was to be made through night schools for all who were engaged in "the trades" during the day.[5]

Brown's analysis of the Massachusetts study concluded with the observation that though Massachusetts was different from Manitoba there were many similarities. He saw in Winnipeg a group of children for whom the schools were making no provision.

> We have already a gang of juvenile offenders at the police courts, which is merely representative of a much larger body of youths who are morally and mentally perverted owing to a lack of any adequate education at all. Industrial training is suggested as a cure for this evil when developed, where it should be used to prevent it developing at all . . . purely cultural or disciplinary studies as they are will go. That which best fits the children for their place in the world is the best for their physical, intellectual and moral development. Our problem is already developed. We have not faced it to find what it really is, and until we do, as Massachusetts has done, it will remain unsolved, a blot on our boasted educational system. 6

Brown was not alone in calling for change. F. H. Schofield, principal of the Collegiate Institute, stated the secondary schools prepared students either for the teaching profession or the university.

> At present [our secondary schools] are either nurseries for the teaching profession or bridges leading from the primary school to the university. As nurseries their methods of culture are incomplete: as bridges they lead to a point few desire to reach. 7

Dr. George Bryce also promoted the idea of change. He wrote two letters to Prime Minister Laurier urging upon him the necessity of a national technical education policy for the development of the west.[8] Brown, Schofield and Bryce were only a few of those who believed significant change had to take place in the schools to meet the needs of a rapidly changing society. An editorial in the Western School Journal in 1906 entitled "Our Schools and Their Critics," made reference to a series of articles in one of the daily newspapers in which the proficiency of people who passed through Winnipeg schools was criticized.[9] Society was changing and the schools were no longer able to meet the changing needs. It was indicated:

> The exactions of business and society are making the home less and less a factor in the education of the child and thrusting more and more of this all important duty upon the school. No fact in modern life is to be more deplored than this tendency. 10

The accuracy of this observation, that changing society placed a greater duty on the school, was apparent in 1907 when Dr. Halpenny, a city physician, and Mr. Haddock, physical education director at the YMCA, began to focus on the need for the schools to assume responsibility for the physical well being of boys and girls in the schools. Haddock called for a broader understanding of physical education that would go beyond "a mere matter of exercisings" and touch "all phases of well being." He expressed his approval of competitive games but pointed out their inadequacy. He indicated they were "for the strong and for only a few, where we should accommodate not so much the strong as the weak who need the exercise the most." Schools, according to Haddock, needed gymnasiums, baths, dressing rooms and competent instructors of physical education.[11] Every effort needed to be made for the removal of hindrances to healthy physical development. Dr. Halpenny called for medical inspection in the schools and shared Haddock's idea that all impediments to a child's healthful development needed to be eliminated. He saw the presence of "large numbers of foreigners" in the city "who had low living standards" as "a menace to the entire community." The schools, he believed, as they were increasingly filled with the children of these foreigners, were made a ready "means of contagion and infection." Beyond this, however, Halpenny believed no child should be prevented from making progress in school because of physical defect. The state had a duty to step between parent and child in the interests of child health. Halpenny made reference to the practice of medical inspection in the schools of Great Britain and the United States and indicated Manitoba needed to be brought "abreast of the times."[12]

F. H. Schofield added his voice in support of medical inspection in the schools. There were children in school, according to Schofield, who were afflicted with imperfect sight, impaired hearing and other physical defects and physicians were needed with knowledge and authority who could seek remedial action for these children.[13]

The School Board began to act on these concerns and became engaged in an investigation of medical inspection in schools elsewhere. They made inquiries of communities that had medical inspection in their schools and these inquiries revealed a belief that medical inspection was justified for it rendered "an important service to the community."[14] With such positive response to their inquires the School Board conducted an experimental medical examination program that included 4,546 children.[15] These children attended school in various parts of the city from Strathcona school in the north to the Gladstone school in the south. The examination revealed 2,052 or 45% of the children afflicted by one or more diseases of a "more or less serious type."[16] These results were believed to correspond closely to conditions existing in other cities where similar examinations had been conducted. It appeared that medical inspection was needed in Winnipeg schools and its justification was stated as follows:

> [Medical] inspection is not to be measured in terms of money, but in the decrease in sickness and incapacity among children, and in the ultimate decrease of inefficiency and poverty in after life arising from physical disabilities. 17

In 1908 as reformers continued to focus attention on the school as a means of meeting social needs they indicated the schools were not meeting the challenge of inefficiency and poverty in the city. Frequent references were made to the failure of the schools to prepare pupils for work. The Manitoba Free Press published an editorial which quoted the March 1908 issue of Industrial Canada which stated there was a need for industrial training. The problem of a "too literary" curriculum was highlighted.[18] The Western School Journal carried articles on the necessity to meet the needs of pupils who drop out of school because of a lack of interest in the academic curriculum.[19] These articles gave particular attention to pupils, ages fourteen to eighteen, who were out of school and, according to Superintendent McIntyre, had no experience to fit them for anything but the lowest occupations. They were compelled to drift into whatever was open to them and so swelled "the army of incompetents to be found in every line of business."[20]

Many children were perceived to be unprepared for the new industrial era which was described in the Manitoba Free Press in 1908 by reference to Professor E. Ross' book Sin and Society. The paper published a portion of Ross' book which outlined the complex nature of the new society.

> Nowadays the water main is my well, the trolley car my carriage, the bankers safe my old stocking, the policeman's billy my fist. My own eyes and nose and judgment defer to the inspector of food or drugs, or gas, or factories, or tenement, or insurance companies. I rely upon others to look after drains, invest my savings, nurse my sick, and teach my children. I let the meat trust butcher my pig, the oil trust mould my candles, the sugar trust boil my sorghum, the coal trust chop my wood, the barbwire company split my rails. 21

As W. A. McIntyre surveyed such changes in social and industrial conditions he noted "the flocking of the population and production has been the compelling law of the industrial world." He saw women being drawn out of the home and engaging in business pursuits. Capital and labor groups were developing and were in conflict with one another. Many people were finding it difficult to earn enough to maintain what was believed to be an adequate standard of living. In a society of developing industry, according to McIntyre, "the division of labor [was] so perfected that every workman's field of usefulness is limited as never before, while, of course, his independence is limited to the same degree."[22]

In the midst of all of this the school was still tied to an academic emphasis in the school program. E. Brydon-Jack, a Winnipeg educator, summed up Winnipeg's problems as follows:

> Manual training has sometimes been regarded as the same as industrial training: but this is not so. It is true that the introduction and development of manual training was the first great step on this continent toward industrial education. Today, however, manual training is regarded as forming a part of a system of general education, and as such it is of great value, but it does not . . . train recruits for general trade or vocation.
> Our educational system in the past has been largely based on the idea of final preparation for the college or the university, and this is correct for a proportion at least (sic) of the children. But this does not meet the full requirements for education. We must have this but we must also have more if we are to educate all classes. . . . The most vital educational and social question of today is what to do with the vast multitudes of boys who now leave school so early. How many may be brought under the influence of a system which will promote the public welfare by making them valuable, industrious workers.
> The main question is "What provision should be made . . . to provide training for a very large majority of children eliminated from our public schools and thrown out in the world without adequate training for the life work they enter. We see that it is necessary to have intelligent workmen and skilled citizens to properly assist in the production of our industries and to carry along the development and new works. As a result

> of our old system of education we have today many industrial workers who are only too anxious to receive further education. Provision should be made for them by night classes. Again there are many scholars who would continue in high school work if they could see plainly that the course would train and equip them for some vocation or trade which they intended to follow . . . industrial schools should be established. 23

The Western School Journal also pointed out that such training was in the national interest. It was reported in 1908 that other nations had advanced programs of industrial education and that Germany had one city, Berlin, which had 34,000 enrolled in its trade schools in 1906. It was indicated there was need to fear a German army that carried "not guns but tools." It was further indicated that Canada was protected by an abundance of natural resources and an "unreasonably high tariff" but this was only temporary protection from the competition of superior technical training.[24] The Manitoba Free Press gave expression to the view that the vocational capabilities of young people could no longer be wasted because there were those who feared utilitarian aims in the schools.[25] The idea was widely publicized that the child needed "to learn to do some kind of work . . . so well others are willing to pay for it."[26]

As the idea of a more practical education was being promoted, the Western School Journal advanced the view that a new kind of patriotism needed to be taught in the schools. After having made the point that there was an economic threat to the country, by those who were better trained in other countries, it was argued that "that wordy jungle that is sometimes called patriotism" needed to be rejected. In its place there needed to be a patriotism that consisted of "a deep and well-balanced regard for country" manifested by the use of abilities to make the country greater and richer.

> The more ability and power [one] has to foster industry, to develop resources, to create wealth, to facilitate production, and to stimulate material growth, the greater asset he is to his nation. Therefore, a school in order to do the maximum service to the State, should deal with these practical problems, as well as with purely academic ones. 27

While interest in practical education was growing in Winnipeg, Superintendent McIntyre visited fourteen United States' cities in pursuit of new ideas on practical education. During 1907 he was able to observe "the organization, equipment and management of schools, with special reference to the way in which general education is related to the preparation for vocation."[28] He was therefore prepared, in 1908, to give examples of what was being done elsewhere in preparing youth for vocations. One of the examples was Menomonie, Wisconsin. He indicated that the Menomonie school program was typical of the best that he had noticed on his tour of United States cities. He believed that the city, as a smaller centre in a northern area, more closely approximated conditions in Canada.

Lawrence Cremin, in The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education 1876-1951, has described Menomonie's school program. Manual training became the centre of the program and boys worked with wood in the carpentry shops and with iron in the iron working rooms or the foundry. Girls studied subjects related to the home and on occasion prepared meals for invited guests. The interest of the children in their work was reported to be so great there was no need for a truant officer and discipline problems disappeared. There was a gymnasium, a swimming pool and a physical education program which was tied to instruction in personal hygiene. The athletic staff of the schools concerned themselves with all the children, not just with the talented, and sought a well rounded athletic program for each child.[29] Cremin indicated that this school program was "progressivism in education" which he defined as a many sided effort to use the schools to improve the lives of individuals. It meant "broadening the program and function of the schools to include direct concern for health, vocation and the quality of family and community life." New pedagogical principles were introduced to the schools and instruction was "tailored" to "different kinds and classes of children."[30]

As Superintendent McIntyre observed the Menomonie educational program, he indicated he saw "mechanical drawing, wood turning, pattern making, forging, moulding and work with machines, in addition to the ordinary range of school studies."[31] McIntyre believed that the student received a sense of the dignity of work and of responsibility for work well done. The boy was able to work with "real material" and make "real things" and, according to McIntyre, be impressed with the idea "he was fitting himself for real work in the world." Similarly the girls had complete courses in household science. McIntyre indicated this included study of the human body, nutrition, food preparation, interior decorating and home furnishing. The girls were given practical work in the actual preparation of a "run down home" for comfortable habitation. They also prepared a meal for ten people and were expected to do this on a limited amount of money. McIntyre was a guest at such a meal and indicated "it left nothing to be desired."[32]

It was noted that the work was carried on along with general education and resulted in "keeping boys and girls of high school age in school so that the early years of adolescence can be secured for education." McIntyre indicated that Menomonie, with 5,500 inhabitants, had 250 students in high school. Winnipeg had 591 students and if the city had the same ratio of students to population in high school as Menomonie, Winnipeg would have 4,500 high school students. McIntyre made more than one visit to Menomonie schools and concluded that the community had found the solution to the problem of keeping students in school.[33]

McIntyre also visited Springfield, Massachusetts and used that school system as an example of what could be done to accommodate students who had dropped out of school and obtained jobs. These boys were given opportunity for further schooling in night classes. Young clerks, apprentices and those engaged in mechanical occupations were able to study mechanical trades, mechanical drawing, electricity and mathematics and prepare themselves for "greater efficiency." McIntyre indicated that if this "greater efficiency" was to be realized the secondary school had to be organized to care for all students of normal capacity who have outgrown the stage of mere childhood "independent of their ability to pass an entrance examination."[34] This meant that educational alternatives should be made available to students unwilling or unable to pursue the traditional literary or academic programs in the high school. Therefore, for those who may have seen the proposed development of industrial education in the high school as a narrow or even class based education, as occurred in the case of manual training, it could now be shown that educational opportunity would actually be increased and not diminished.

F. H. Schofield shared McIntyre's views and encouraged a modification of the high school program to give it more elasticity. He found that boys had little interest in a traditional course of studies and the time spent on the pursuit of such studies was largely wasted. What was needed, according to Schofield was work "at the bench, forge or lathe" that related to the everyday world of their interest.[35]

By the end of 1908 reform minded educators in Winnipeg had concluded the school would have to be changed to meet the new challenges of a young urban society. It would have to adapt to new needs and in order to do so its spirit and methods would have to change. The school would have to be regarded as a "social organism" and could no longer be "modeled upon the army with its rigorous discipline" but would have to be modeled "after well regulated society." W. A. McIntyre indicated changed social and industrial conditions had been recognized by the school and attempts were being made to meet new challenges. McIntyre also stated the school had already attempted to alter its spirit and methods by emphasizing cooperative activity. The concept of the school that had arisen was one in which a number of individuals worked as "a miniature" not for their own advancement, but in the interest of definite worthy social ends. McIntyre stated that nothing could be more true than the following statement on the school and society.

> In real life, society at its best organizes itself into groups in which each individual finds himself in contact with others whose weaknesses he supplements or whose greater powers he depends upon. If the school is to prepare for society as it is, it would be natural to expect that some such form of social activity, however embryonic, should be found as a necessary feature of its life. 36

He went on to indicate that the school was created by society to meet a social need. The school, therefore, needed to enter into "sympathetic relation with the whole of life of which it is a part."[37]

Similar views were expressed by S. E. Lang of the Normal School staff who in addressing himself to elementary education stated:

> . . . these [elementary schools] have been created by the community in the interests of the community, the educational aim within them must necessarily be that of social efficiency rather than mere individual efficiency. This phrase "social efficiency" is one that is very frequently heard at the present time, and it is worth while to examine it somewhat closely. What is the difference between social efficiency and mere individual efficiency? The difference is fundamental. If you train a boy for mere individual efficiency you send him out into the world equipped merely for fighting for his own hand in the battle of life. You furnish him with such training as will enable him to live a narrow and in all probability an anti-social life. He will be the type of man who will aim not at serving his fellow men but at making his fellow men subservient to him. You will agree that there are in the world at the present time too many of that type. The community recognizes this, and desires that the school shall devote all its energies and skill to the production of a different and a much better type of citizen.
>
> The type of citizen that the school desires to produce is the one whose knowledge of the world and whose view of the duties of life are such as to make him an efficient and willing servant of the community in which his lot is cast, and not a mere powerful and greedy exploiter of the interests of other men. This is not an especially popular doctrine to preach. It is not a view of things that we are apt to adopt for our own children. We are quite willing, perhaps, that the children of other people should be so trained as to become willing and useful servants of the community, but that is just our limited view of life. The community as a whole has decided that education for social service is to be the aim of our schools. It is a curious and instructive fact that this view of social efficiency now adopted as a guide to public policy is precisely in line with the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount. 38

The ideas that were expressed by educational reformers like McIntyre in 1908 and later by Lang found a focus in the secondary school. The School Board in its 1908 report made reference to the bureaucratized school system as "educational machinery" and pointed out that in that "machinery" the secondary school held a most important place. It was believed that through the agency of the secondary school students could be prepared for industry. In addition to this the secondary school could prepare personnel for the schools below the high school. So important did the secondary school appear to the reform minded educators they stated:

> No educational system can maintain itself in efficiency without a well equipped, well conducted secondary school, broad in its curriculum to meet the requirements of the diversified life of the community and the varying aptitudes of the students, and wise and sympathetic in its administration to enlist and inform the ideals of all who come under its influence. 39

Educational leaders in Winnipeg were now prepared to move in a new direction and ensure the order and stability of society by improving the life of the individual. Urbanization was now an accepted fact of life and the goal as outlined in a School Board report was to produce the socially efficient individual in the new environment and this would be done in part through an expansion of "the educational machinery" in the secondary school.

Buildings

As the School Board was presenting their report on the value of the secondary school as part of the "educational machinery," Superintendent McIntyre was indicating that the machinery would be expanded. He stated "plans for next year" included the creation of a suitable building for the Collegiate Institute. It would make provision for meeting individual requirements and aptitudes and serve the needs of the community to the fullest. It would be equipped for industrial work to appeal to student interests and directly bear on the occupations of life. It would make provision for "systematic physical training and development" so the student could be both efficient and happy. It was expected to be a building that would, as noted earlier, meet the needs of all students of normal capacity "independent of their ability to pass the conventional entrance examination." It would also accommodate students in the evenings and provide opportunities for their increased efficiency.[40]

To accommodate these students the building would clearly have to be of considerable size. But planning for increased building size had already begun in 1909 at the elementary school level as there was a need to accommodate increased numbers of pupils in elementary schools. The ten classroom building had been, for the most part, the standard school size between 1890 and 1910. In 1910 there were three larger school buildings opened in the city. The Aberdeen School had twelve classrooms and a manual training room, Laverendrye had fourteen classrooms and a manual training room and Greenway had nineteen classrooms and a manual training room.[41]

Superintendent McIntyre's vision of a large new secondary school did not materialize in 1909 but he and his colleagues developed plans for not one but two new buildings to accommodate high school pupils. The buildings were to be identical with each one having thirty-eight rooms. In keeping with the School Board's policy, of equitable allocation of school resources, one building was planned for the south end and the other for the north end. When the three larger elementary schools were opened in 1910 construction began on the new high school buildings. A cornerstone ceremony was held for the Kelvin Technical High School in the south end on October 4 and a similar ceremony was conducted for the St. John's Technical High School in the north end on October 25.[42] The new high school buildings were larger and more complex than any school buildings that had ever been erected in the city. The main body of the buildings measured 132 feet by 50 feet with a large wing at each end measuring 182 feet by 44 feet. Between these was a central wing or "L" at the rear measuring 50 feet by 56 feet. The courts between the wings were excavated to the depth of the basement floor and roofed at the height of the first story in order to form the machine shops. The front of each building measured 220 feet. The roof was 70 feet above the ground and an entrance tower rose to a height of 100 feet. The buildings included the latest devices for heating and ventilating and the latest installations to make the buildings fireproof.[43] Each building contained 38 useable rooms and was described as follows:

> In the basement two rooms each 40' x 80' for use as forge and machine shops, three rooms practically the same size 40' x 80' for woodworking machinery, pattern shops, and electrical shops; two rooms 27' x 33' for mechanical drawing and plumbing work; the dressing rooms for gymnasium work, and the boiler room for the heating and ventilating plant, four toilet rooms, and two offices for teachers. On the ground floor is the auditorium 50' x 75', the gymnasium 40' x 80', eight class rooms 28' x 34' and four toilet rooms--two for teachers, and two for pupils. The second floor has the balcony over the auditorium, the running track over the gymnasium, five class rooms, library rooms, commercial class room, typewriting classroom 40' x 43', two teachers' rest rooms, and two teachers' toilet rooms. The third floor has eight classrooms, chemical laboratory, physical laboratory 40' x 43', a museum room 22' x 22', and two toilet rooms for pupils. 44

These buildings were clearly designed to train children according to their aptitudes and this meant dividing the children according to their probable economic destinations. But educational administrators and others who had been committed to the idea of commonality in the schools were somewhat uneasy in breaking from the old tradition. They reconciled themselves to the change taking place in the schools by accepting the idea that commonality was not being abandoned as long as children were enabled to attend one school building. In October 1910 as the technical high school buildings were under construction an editorial in the Manitoba Free Press noted that it was "undesirable in a democratic country to separate the youth of the country on the basis of difference of vocation." It was preferable to have all children regardless of their future role in life attend school in one building.[45] At this time W. A. McIntyre indicated "all classes, creeds and races will meet together under one roof: they will sing the same songs and play the same games and will be bound together by innumerable bonds." He believed that in such an environment those who did not engage in manual pursuits would learn to respect those who did and those in manual pursuits would respect those who were engaged in nonmanual activities.[46]

When these two identical technical school buildings opened in 1912 they served two different areas of the city which now manifested an equal interest in schooling. In 1908 the north end appeared to have less interest in schooling, having a percentage of population exceeding 40% but having an enrollment of only 32.5%. This situation changed by 1912 for the north end with 33.8% of the population had 34.6% of the school enrollment and received 32% of the operation and maintenance budget. The two new high schools then, began to function in a city that showed a generally equal interest in the value of schooling in its different geographical areas.[47]

The buildings were clearly differentiated complex structures which made provision to prepare students for differentiated functions in society. The appearance of gymnasiums in the schools, which provided facilities for physical development, indicated the importance that was now attached to physical health as a prerequisite to efficient function in society. The school buildings would now make provision for direct concern for vocation and health. The provision of gymnasiums in the school buildings represented a sudden shift in opinion among school board members. They had expressed the belief in 1909 that gymnasiums did not "assist in the work of the schools." By 1912 they had changed their minds and included gymnasiums in the high school buildings. The gymnasiums were equipped with what was described as "all the necessary appliances for work with boys and girls."[49] The pupils were provided with steel lockers and instructors had a separate office. The Winnipeg School Board members indicated:

> Adequate provision is . . . made for the first time for systematic physical training for both boys and girls of high school age. No system of education which has efficiency as its aim can ignore that physical efficiency that underlies effective work in every department of life. 50

The elementary schools also continued to change. When the technical high schools were opened a contract was let for the Laura Secord School which was to have twenty-six classrooms, two manual training rooms, an auditorium and "quarters for the janitor."[51] The Isaac Brock School, built the next year, was another large school of thirty-two rooms.[52]

In 1914 it became apparent to educational leaders that domestic science work offered in the high school and upper elementary school would not be attainable by many immigrant girls. The enrollment at the St. John's Technical High School was only 32.5% of the total enrollment for the two new technical schools in 1913. There was not much immediate improvement that could be expected for in 1912 the grade six enrollment in north end schools was 24.2% of the total for all the city and the grade seven enrollment was 20% with the grade eight enrollment standing at 23%.[53] A new school was built to bring upper level work down to lower grades to enable immigrant girls to prepare for their place in society. The new school building was of considerable size. It was designed to include household appliances and all the necessary equipment to provide a full course of training to equip girls for their future role as homemakers. The new building, named the William Whyte, consisted of three stories with seventeen standard classrooms in the lower stories. The upper story was devoted entirely to arrangements for carrying on domestic science work "in its several branches."[54] It was a distinctive building, designed to provide full facilities for courses at grade levels where they were never offered in the manual training program. School buildings with similar provisions were created at the King Edward School in the north end and the Earl Grey in the south end but neither were as elaborate as the William Whyte School.[55]

The building of the William Whyte School represented another step away from commonality which the educational leaders believed they were still clinging to at the opening of the technical high schools. The demands of order and stability in an urban society led these educational leaders to focus on a new kind of equality for elementary school pupils which emphasized equal opportunity to take a differentiated school course so that all could find their place of service in a bureaucratized society. Their attempt to preserve their values led them to expand the schools so as to adapt them to present needs which in turn led these leaders farther from their village past.

The larger more complex buildings were designed to reflect the life of the community and were more unlike the simple school structures of the past than any school buildings erected up to that time. If the individual had been obscured in the smaller schools of earlier years he was, if anything, more obscure in the larger more impersonal building. In 1914 the educational leaders expressed concern over the individual pupil who could suddenly disappear from the school and any knowledge concerning his whereabouts was described as "difficult to get." Even the knowledge gained from schoolmate or neighbors was said to be "only approximately complete."[56]

The new buildings were designed to facilitate the efficient function of the community "in every department of life." When the new technical high schools were under construction educational leaders began to signal the entire community that school buildings were to become useful in the departments of life that make up the community. This required a shift in policy as marked as the shift in policy that took place when gymnasiums were introduced to the school. In 1890 when the WCTU sought the use of school rooms, after school hours on Friday afternoons, to teach temperance they were informed that the Board had a strict rule that school buildings were to be used only for regular school purposes.[57] In 1911 this policy was completely abandoned and educational leaders were promoting the public use of school facilities for activities that were not part of the regular school program. School grounds were made available for recreational purposes and an attempt was made to accommodate all groups requesting space. During July and August the Playgrounds Association was given full use of the school sites each day up to 6 p.m. Later in the fall of the year the school buildings were made available to the city as polling booths for the December 8 election. Twenty eight schools were used that fall.[58]

In 1913 the Board took an unprecedented step and opened certain schools to be used as "social centres" under the direction of voluntary agencies.[59] Permission was also given to the Exhibition Association to have the Boy Scouts use the King Edward School, in the north end, as their headquarters during Exhibition week.[60] In 1914 the new King Edward No. 2 School in the north end, was completed and a number of rooms were made available to the Women's Canadian Club to be fitted as recreation rooms for the soldiers of the 32nd Battalion, quartered in the Industrial Exhibition buildings.[61] By 1915 the schools were used for the following meetings:

100 public meetings.
50 Playgrounds Commission meetings.
52 Forum meetings in Kelvin, St. John's and Cecil Rhodes.
50 Teachers' Red Cross Association.
42 Political Equality League.
31 Women's volunteer Reserve.
24 Recruiting and drilling meetings.
5 Weston Cottage Garden Association.
14 YMCA classes.
9 YWCA sewing meetings.
8 Western Art Association.
7 Weston Dramatic Association.
6 Weston ratepayers.
3 Rural teachers.
2 Horticulture.
3 Royal Templars.
2 Victoria Football.
1 A.O.F. Football.
9 Parent Teachers' Association.[62]

During this time when educational leaders were constructing buildings to serve as an integral part of community life they were faced with an ever increasing school enrollment. They responded to this challenge by building more and more schools. Between 1913 and 1915, 142 new school rooms were added in the north end, central core and south and west districts. The greatly expanded school facilities coupled with the extended community use of buildings put the caretaking organization under pressure. The educational leaders indicated that standards in building cleanliness had to be maintained and therefore they centralized the caretaking organization by appointing a caretaking supervisor. His responsibility was "to supervise and direct" the work throughout the city.[63] This added another level of supervisors to the school system which contributed to the complexity of school organization.

The school system continued to grow as even more school rooms were constructed in an attempt to reach all areas of the city so that each area would have the benefit of school facilities. By 1920 the educational leaders had added another 146 school rooms to the school system. These rooms were allocated to the north end, and the central, south and west districts. There were 288 new rooms added to the school system between 1913 and 1920 and of this number the north end received 117 or 40.6%. This higher percentage was related directly to the rising percentage of city school enrollment in the north end which reached 40.8% in 1920.

It is interesting to note that in 1919 when Labor ran candidates for the School Board, Mr. J. Simpkin, one of those candidates, criticized the Board for insufficient school accommodation. His criticism, however, did not focus on any region in the city but was applied generally to the whole city.[64] Some two weeks later the Manitoba Free Press replied to such criticism indicating:

> During many years the policy of the Board has looked to the interests of the citizens as a whole. . . . The children of the working class have received treatment and consideration precisely similar to that given children of every other class. . . . Even today, after five years during which the

> difficulties of building, equipping and staffing the schools have been well-nigh insurmountable, radical labor can find no serious complaint to make. 65

In 1920 as the School Board continued to attempt to meet the need for school rooms in all parts of the city they began to discuss the building of the Junior High School. They indicated this introduced "new factors to the building program."[66] The buildings in the school system had become increasingly complex and it is clear that they were now far removed from the simplicity of the buildings of the rural village past.

In the immediate post World War I period as the School Board attempted to provide school facilities that were complex the composition of the Board began to show signs of change. Emerging were the signs of a differentiated society, one characterized by greater visibility and acceptance of women, some ethnic groups and different religions and the rise of a professional-business class linked to the industrial era. The prominent, commonly held values which centered on an idealized vision of rural life and which dominated the earlier period, still persisted. However, it is evident that the School Board was gaining a new perspective from its more varied membership. The result was a gradual introduction of concerns and policies in harmony with the emerging differentiated society. The British Protestant male business man was no longer exclusively in control, as complex "educational machinery" was now an established part of the Winnipeg Public Schools.[67]

Teachers

The expansion of the "educational machinery" was a response to the growth of the school system which by 1907 had 14,802 pupils. As a result of this growth it was no longer possible for Superintendent McIntyre to decide what was best for each individual pupil. Greater freedom in teaching began to be given to teachers and this appeared first in the manual training program as a departure from a fixed course of exercises was under way. As noted earlier in this thesis, it was being discovered that in manual training "as in other fields, things done for drill purposes only have a tendency to dull the edge of interest." Within a given range, the teacher was given the freedom to allow a boy to choose the article he wished to make.[68] By 1909 when the manual training program had been expanded to all grades the specialist teachers were no longer keeping the child within the confines of the ordinary curriculum. They were permitting the boy "to do" whatever his ability enabled him to do. The teacher was given "perfect freedom of action to deal with every case upon its merits."[69] Progressive educational thought was clearly being expressed in the manual training program as child interest was being recognized and greater freedom was allowed for the child to express himself. The teacher's role began to shift from that of an authority figure to that of a resource person or guide. The school administration was attempting to adapt the school to the needs of society and the teachers were now, in a measure, adapting lessons to the needs of the child.

While this was going on in the schools a new pattern of teacher training was developing in the Normal School. Normal School students were being taught to think in business terms. As they approached their course work they were instructed to look upon it in "the same way any businessman might be supposed to look upon any business proposition." They were not to expect everything to be laid out for them in a specified order but they were expected to approach their courses as one that has a "real problem to solve, a real task to perform," and to be self reliant in solving the problem and performing the task. They were to approach their courses with the aim of achieving their purpose in the most economical way with reference to the expenditure of time and labor. The teachers were taught that what was needed was "a definite purpose . . . and the orderly and businesslike management of the means at our disposal for the accomplishment of a certain purpose."[70]

It appears that the bureaucratic model was shifting from a rigid military pattern to an industrial pattern with a captain in charge. Teachers were being trained as professionals to control the specialized "machinery" of a bureaucratic system. Their Normal School was held before them as a model of an ideal society. They were encouraged at the beginning of their studies to look upon their school--

> as a social organism, as a real social world, as a social community with a unity of its own, and . . . to believe that your first duty does not lie in the direction of grasping all that you can, but in the direction of giving what you possess for the good of your fellow students 71

This training was not lost on Normal School students for as the new secondary schools were under construction a valedictorian declared in 1911:

> In an inconceivably short space of time many of our pet theories were set aside as old fashioned and outgrown and more exalted ideals and principles came to take their place. We

> have received a new insight into the organism called society and consequently a new insight into the work of fitting the child for his place in that organism. 72

As the teachers assumed greater responsibility they were not left without careful supervision. Two additional supervisors were appointed in 1911 with responsibility for primary grades.[73] They joined the two supervisors who had been appointed earlier in 1905. In addition to this, in the same year there began to be a change in the responsibilities of the principals in the interest of strengthening supervision. Prior to 1911 all principals served in the dual role as teachers and principals. In 1911 the Superintendent reported:

> During the year the principals of three of the largest schools were released from classes that they might give their whole time to the management and oversight of the schools under their charge. This strengthening of the supervisory force cannot but serve to give direction and purpose to the work of the young teacher and to unify and stimulate all the forces of the school. 74

When the two technical high schools were opened in 1912 and the work of these schools was extended to the night schools, D. M. Duncan, who had assumed the principalship of Kelvin High School, was appointed Assistant Superintendent of Schools. Duncan was given the responsibility of supervising the upper elementary school grades, the secondary schools and the evening schools.[75] The supervisory functions provided by those appointed to the primary grades, along with Duncan's oversight of the upper grades, assisted by professionally trained staff, enabled Superintendent McIntyre to assume a position in education similar in stature to a captain of industry.

The opening of the two technical high schools marked a significant expansion of the school structure. New patterns of training were required to teach new subjects so instruction could be tailored to "different kinds and classes of children." Specialists who were given professional freedom needed to be highly qualified to function according to the expectation of the educational leaders. When the technical high schools were being prepared for opening it was the newly hired technical teachers who planned the new courses and organized the classes.[76] There were sixteen teachers who were engaged in this work,[77] and it was explained that the courses they planned, and were to teach, had to be "in the hands of men familiar with shop practice."[78] After the technical schools had been in operation for a year it was reported that of the seventy-three secondary school teachers twenty-eight were "direct from the trades without special pedagogic training."[79] While the educational leaders were able to obtain teachers for the new subject areas they indicated "the training of teachers to meet the new demands made on the schools is a problem that awaits solution."[80]

When the gymnasiums were opened a "qualified" instructor was hired to conduct physical education for girls. There was, however, difficulty securing "a man with the necessary training to take charge of the boys."[81] The Normal School offered no such training and the University's only involvement with teachers extended to the provision of extension lectures in English and Science which teachers could attend in the interests of "self improvement."[82] It was therefore necessary to import teachers for the gymnasium department and in 1913 there were three conducting gymnasium work who were "graduates of English training colleges."[83]

Special attention was immediately given to instructing teachers in physical education. Under the provision of the Strathcona Trust, which began to operate in Winnipeg schools in 1911 and to which reference will be made later in this thesis, Mr. Hugh Urquhart, a physical education supervisor, enabled 125 teachers to qualify for certificates of proficiency as physical instructors. These certificates required the completion of a course of thirty, one hour lessons[84] and added another certificate to the teacher's existing teaching certificate.

About this time another type of teaching certificate appeared designed for teachers who specialized in practical arts. Girls were permitted to substitute some purely academic courses for practical arts courses and thus qualify as practical arts specialists.[85]

Teachers who were "fitted" for their work were challenged with further innovations in the school system. The William Whyte School was one such challenge, for teachers were required to assume teaching responsibilities in a school that had no precedent in the Winnipeg school system. Superintendent McIntyre appealed to the teachers for sympathetic understanding of the aims of the new school. He expressed confidence that the teachers were equal to the challenge of what he referred to as "an educational departure."[86] The professional was in a position to adapt the curriculum to the needs of the child.

The professional was now becoming clearly manifest in the teaching force of the Winnipeg schools. Teachers were being given power to function independently in their area of expertise. When provision was being made in the schools for "backward" and "subnormal" children it was realized these children could not be given the "ordinary program of studies." A Board report indicated the only way in which these children could be handled was "to leave the solution of the problems largely in the hands of the teachers and supervisors who conduct the classes," and grant them power to change from time to time as experience may suggest.[87] W. A. McIntyre, a chief educational leader in the city indicated:

> In the long run it is the teacher who must make the school. She must analyze her problem whatever it may be and make the necessary adaptation of means to end. It is folly to think of realizing our hopes merely by altering the program of studies. It is not now carried out in the same way in any two schools. Nor is this expected. 88

But for many teachers in Winnipeg the altering of the program of studies, classifying pupils in new ways and granting professional freedom to teachers could not eliminate the effects of years of a military type bureaucracy. Unlike the rural teacher, the teacher in Winnipeg was part of a highly bureaucratized system and served as a small "cog" in a large machine which had hundreds of teachers, thousands of pupils, and a large number of school buildings which had increased in size to the point where some had as many as thirty-eight rooms. The school system continued to be confronted with a "steady increase of children of non-English speaking races in the school" who, according to the Annual Report of the School Board, needed to appropriate Canadian traditions, imbibe Canadian national sentiment and adopt Canadian standards of living.[89] As some teachers sought to achieve these goals in the highly bureaucratized school structure they lost their enthusiasm for their work.

This lack of enthusiasm was publicly noted in 1914 in relation to the Annual Teachers' Convention. Attendance of city teachers at the convention, which was designed to give teachers "inspiration and enlightenment" and send them back to their school with "greater enthusiasm," was described as "very disappointing." Rural teachers were reported to have attended in great numbers, but the city teachers were said to have shown little interest in the convention. Some did attend all the sessions but others attended only one or two sessions while still others only showed up to pay their membership fees and some did not even show up to do that.[90] While there are no available statistics to ascertain the number of teachers who did not attend the convention in 1914 it does appear there was some concern over the level of enthusiasm among some Winnipeg teachers. In 1917 the Western School Journal carried a short article under the title, "Is It True?" in which a reportedly reliable spokesman had stated there was no body of people in the city of Winnipeg who were so lacking in enthusiasm as "the day school teachers." This unnamed spokesman went on to indicate that when any forward movement was proposed the teachers only considered it in relation to how it would affect "their own pocket or their own convenience." The teachers were charged with putting their own welfare ahead of the welfare of the pupils.[91]

One is inclined to believe there was some truth in what the spokesman stated for one of the outcomes of bureaucratic development, according to Tyack, is that it tends to grind out the power of initiative from the teacher. Teachers act like enlisted men who are afraid to advocate anything out of the routine for fear that it might disturb the system and work against their perceived interests. The focus of attention is turned to "the machine" and the purpose of the school, which is to teach children, is forgotten.[92]

Nevertheless there was a growing measure of professional freedom in the Winnipeg school system, and this found full expression in 1919 when the junior high school program was introduced. This program, to which reference will be made later in this thesis, was marked by flexible courses and specialist teachers who were to develop their teaching in "an interesting and attractive manner."[93] Since children would be taking different subjects according to their interests the teacher could make adaptations according to the interests of the "individual child."

As teachers became involved more and more in work that required a greater independent approach they developed a strong desire to have their own professional organization. In 1918 the teachers appointed a committee of ten to look into the matter of establishing a teachers' federation. Significantly, Superintendent McIntyre, who had been reported to have been strongly opposed to a teachers' union in earlier years, was one of the committee members.[94] He used his skills to help bring about the formation of the Teachers' Federation in 1919. The Teachers' Federation was strongly influenced by Winnipeg teachers. The president was H. W. Huntley, a long time Winnipeg teacher. Other long time Winnipeg teachers who were elected to the executive were Miss B. Stewart, vice president, W. N. Deneke and Miss E. Moore.[95] There were ten executive members in the Federation which represented the teachers of the province and four of these were from the Winnipeg public schools, two of whom occupied the leading offices. The Federation was described in the following words:

> This organization, then, has risen phoenix-like over night to enable teachers to take a more active part in the profession to which they belong, to grade themselves according to their qualifications and experience; to prevent the profession from being a mere stepping-stone to other "more remunerative" professions; to make it more attractive for the proper kind of candidates to enter; to see that those entering get an adequate

> training before being admitted; and that a salary adequate for the responsibility and the time spent in preparation is paid, as well as to insure to the rising generation a proper foundation for their future work . . .
> . . . Every teacher should be in this organization and should try to do his or her part. Little petty grievances should be cast to one side, for in unity there is strength. 96

The Winnipeg school teachers, with others, had developed a professional organization which was the direct outgrowth of bureaucratic organization. As this new organization began to function, new tensions were introduced to the school system as teachers demanded some control over their own destiny. A Winnipeg Tribune editorial stated in 1919, "Our teachers are showing signs of radicalism."[98] There were now conflicting demands between an orderly administration guided by the School Board and the demands of professional autonomy which required freedom to make professional choices. One of the interests of the new Federation was provision for higher teacher's salaries. The Winnipeg teachers reached agreement with the School Board in 1920, on the principle that "revisions of salary schedule should be the subject of conference between the Board and representatives of the teachers before any revisions should finally be adopted."[97]

The interaction in the Winnipeg school system was now an interaction of groups rather than an interaction of individuals. While the professionalization of the staff appeared to give independence to the individual teacher it was not the independence of the past. It was a new independence of specialization that was both narrow and confined. It was the exercise of individual professional expertise consistent with what became recognized as "educational progressivism" and was carried on in a large interdependent system.

Curriculum

Of all the changes that were made, whether in buildings or among teachers, the curriculum underwent the greatest change. W. A. McIntyre expressed the view that as "civilization" changed, the curriculum would have to change and each generation would have to settle, for itself, what work was attempted in the public schools. What work was attempted, however, would have to have the aim of national prosperity and happiness. It would have to give to each individual an opportunity to reach his fullest potential and enable all to live together in a friendly manner. Every member of society would have to be efficient and aim "to be" all he was capable of so he could "do" all he was capable of in his society.[99] This idea received strong support from Winnipeg businessmen. They complained about the lack of apprentices and skilled workers for their enterprises and indicated, technical education in the public schools would help to supply business with trained workers.[100] Rev. Dr. George Bryce, who had earlier urged Prime Minister Laurier to assist technical education in order to develop the west, indicated that the greatness of Canada depended on the "efficiency" of the "wage earner."[101]

Support for technical education also came from labor in the city which had earlier been suspicious of manual training. The Trades and Labor Council passed the following resolution.

> That trades schools are detrimental to the interests of labor and that an attitude of opposition ought to be maintained toward them. That we approve of the establishment of technical schools for the purpose of giving instruction to apprentices and craftsmen in the principles governing the various trades . . . the need exists for a system of education that will

> develop men using the term in the fullest and best sense instead of one that creates more rapid producers irrespective of the consideration of humane interests. 102

While labor in general favored "technical schools" that did not threaten to put labor at a disadvantage by leaving the laboring man without a broader education, there were some who opposed the whole idea. The dissenters belonged to the Socialist Party of Canada. They saw technical education as a device to make the capitalist system more efficient "and therefore to postpone the ultimate victory of socialism."[103] But, as McCormack has indicated, the Socialist's radical doctrine was not viable in Winnipeg and they were isolated from the mainstream of the city's labor movement.[104]

As the city's labor movement and other groups expressed their approval of technical education in the public schools, S. E. Lang, who taught at the Normal School, stated:

> It is our duty as citizens to get together and take council as to the educational situation with a view to bringing all possible pressure to bear upon the schools for their improvement and to bring them more definitely into line with the purposes for which they were intended. . . . Historically the improvements and changes in school programs have always been due to social forces and never to pedagogical ones. 105

It is not surprising that reference should be made to "social forces" in Winnipeg. Between 1900 and 1910 the labor force had grown from 5,000 to 17,000[106] and social conditions had so changed, there was a clear difference between the needs of youth in a rural environment forty years before and the needs of urban youth in 1910.[107] The Winnipeg Tribune indicated a changing viewpoint was developing concerning crime and poverty and the solution to these social ills. An editorial entitled "Unfitness and Poverty" indicated:

> Studies in the causes and conditions of crime and poverty usually proceed from the viewpoint of the individual and the family. . . . Hence the shunting of responsibility on the part of the mass to the shoulders of the unfortunate and erring. . . . The misery corp is coming now to be regarded as a martyr corp, and the range of relief is coming more and more to take account of the fundamental causes. . . . A recent writer, who made an analysis of 5,000 families . . . reports that unemployment is the principal cause of poverty and crime, after which come other causes, with drink ranking seventh. The problem is not simply to employ but to fit many of the unemployed for employment. 108

The educational leaders expressed the hope that the new technical school curriculum would help to meet the new challenges in society. When the cornerstone of the new St. John's Technical High School was laid in November 1910, W. A. McIntyre delivered an address in which he said:

> . . . the secondary school . . . has given up the old idea of formal discipline and has approached the whole question of education from the side of the needs of the people . . . 109

According to the Winnipeg Public School Board this meant the curriculum would appeal to students who lacked either interest or aptitude "in purely academic work" and left school before completing their course. These students would be expected to remain longer in school and receive some knowledge of the "work of life." They would be taught the "mastery of some of the processes employed in the world of industry and commerce," and "learn the conditions that make for success in industry." The students would develop the "habits and powers" that are demanded in everyday life. They would also learn what their aptitudes and abilities were so they could make an intelligent choice of occupation. The work that was to be carried on during the day in the secondary school was to be extended to those "engaged in trades during the day" by means of night school. All of this was expected to be able "to make an important contribution to the solution of economic and social problems and will repay the expenditure incurred."[110] The Winnipeg school leadership was moving to reform the curriculum and this reform involved differentiating education according to the needs of the student and society. It also involved, as noted earlier, a commitment to professional expertise in the school program. This functional differentiation of education according to the needs of students and society and the commitment to professional expertise in the schools has come to be identified with what is referred to as "educational progressivism."

As changes were made in the curriculum it represented a significant break with the educational past which had focused on uniformity and standardization. Educational leaders now sought to synthesize individual development and social efficiency. Economic relevance that had once been defined in general terms now came to mean job competence.

In the midst of all this some concern was expressed over the new direction schooling was taking. There was fear that it could result in the loss of old values. F. H. Schofield, who had earlier called for change in the schools, warned that "the other side" of education might sink out of sight as the schools pursued practical subjects. He stated:

> For many years [the school] was headed towards Classic Heights, then she tacked and bore away toward Scientific Point. Presently she was put about for Literary Light: then she was steered for a while towards Ethical Isle. . . . Just at present it seems that those on board the ship are making ready to tack once more and that we shall soon see her headed for the revolving light which marks Bread and Butter Shoals. Danger may be there. . . . We are often disappointed because reforms which promise so much accomplish so little. That is sometimes due to the fact that practical reformers are so

> intent on one side of a needed reform that they cannot see its relation to the other sides nor the true relation of the whole to existing conditions.[111]

Similarly, R. W. Craig, a member of the Winnipeg Public School Board, in addressing a meeting of the Winnipeg Schoolmasters Club, sounded a word of warning over the new direction in education. He believed the schools might swing too far towards industrialism and old values might be lost. He declared "education will fall far short of giving boys and girls a breadth of sympathy and interest" if the swing toward industrialism is too great.[112]

Whatever the fears may have been, the educational reform leaders indicated in 1912 that "the most significant event of the year has been the completion of the Kelvin and St. John's Technical High Schools and the organization of the new departments for which they make provision."[113] These new departments included the following new subjects: mechanical drawing, machine shop practice, forge work, cabinetmaking, woodturning, patternmaking and electrical work for boys.[114] The forge and woodturning work were immediately made available to grade eight boys who were permitted to enter the high school to avail themselves of these subjects.[115] Subjects for girls included sewing, dressmaking, millinery, laundry work, house furnishing and decoration, and cooking. Educational leaders reported that the foundation of this practical work in the high school was found in the classrooms and manual training rooms of the elementary schools where there was a fully graded program of handwork from grade one to grade eight. Miss M. Halliday, supervisor of household arts, indicated the "Household Arts" courses for girls have their foundation in "the elementary handwork and sewing in the grades."[116] In September 1913 there was an expansion of course offerings in the high school and a course in printing was added to the curriculum and was open to both boys and girls.[117]

The provision of these new courses appeared to give greater opportunity to the individual by recognizing his aptitudes and abilities but it actually restricted the freedom that had been known in the past for it placed the individual in a system that moulded him for a particular place. The process was clearly outlined by the reform minded educators. Boys were first placed in an "experimental stage" where the field covered was extensive. Here a wide knowledge of industrial processes could be obtained on which a choice would be made. Once the choice was made the course was narrowed and emphasis "laid on the department chosen." The work was to be practical and in the hands of men familiar with shop practices. The girls were also provided for with the same care but their field was already predetermined for they would study "homemaking."[118]

The secondary school now provided an opportunity for everyone to prepare for a place of service in society. For those intellectually inclined there was the matriculation course and a course giving entry to Normal School. Others who might find business interesting could take commercial work while still others could do work ranging from cabinet making to printing.[119] There was even a modified course for girls which would lead to a teaching certificate. Girls who did not care or have a natural ability for mathematics and science courses could take a practical arts course emphasizing drawing, design and homemaking.[120] There was something for everyone and opportunity for all. Those who had left school because courses did not interest them could now return to school and in night classes have the opportunity to study courses that interested them and for which they were adapted.

The night school was said to lay emphasis "on the technical side of the work." The courses specifically mentioned when the evening technical courses were first offered in October 1912 were: bookkeeping, typewriting, stenography, millinery, cooking, dressmaking, architecture and building trades, painting and decorating, electrical work, machine shop practice, structural design, machine drawing and design, cabinet-making and woodturning, pattern making, blacksmithing, plumbing and tinsmithing, sheet metal work and printing.[121]

There was a sharp increase in enrollment in the night schools when the technical schools were opened. While in 1910 there were 997 reported as enrolled in the night school, by 1912 this number had increased to 1,800[122] Even though actual attendance statistics were not given it seems safe to assume with higher enrollment there would be a proportionate increase in attendance. The enrollment in the night schools continued to increase, reaching 4,756 in 1915.[123]

This increase in enrollment can be attributed, in part to an expansion of the night school curriculum that year. The night school, like other departments of the school system, became more complex as educational leaders responded to perceived needs in the city and added new subjects to the curriculum. One such new subject added to the night school was agriculture. It was perceived to be desirable to encourage those who might have an interest in "the country" to go to the country. There were reported to be "large numbers of working men from the British Isles" who had migrated to Canada with the intention of ultimately becoming farmers. But during the years when they were compelled to work in the city to finance their proposed venture, their interest in farming waned and they abandoned their original intention. These people were now offered night school courses to encourage them to take up farming.[124] The underlying idea was expressed by Mayor Waugh as he gave the address of welcome to the Manitoba Teachers' Convention in 1915. He stated his belief that people should be induced to go back to the farm. There were, according to Waugh too many people living in the city and too few in the country. What he believed was needed, was technical training for the farm. He suggested the slogan of the people should be "Back to the land."[125]

The trend to the city had never been accepted in Winnipeg but its positive side was recognized among those who believed homogenizing of the people to be possible. The recruits from the country brought with them their rural values and were seen to strengthen the force of those values in the urban environment. A number of leading educators in the city expressed the belief "our cities could soon become Sodoms if the procession of recruits from the [country] were stopped." It was stated our city "needs their ambition, their capacity for work, their clean blood and good morals."[126]

But the differentiated society was now being pursued and older values were less important. The order and stability of society did not rest so much on keeping ever larger numbers of British people in the city as it did on the creation of structures. In the 1915-16 school year the new courses that were offered in the night school, so as to encourage agriculture, consisted of lectures in nine subject areas related to farm work. These lectures were offered at the Strathcona School in the north end, to include foreign immigrants, and at the John M. King School in the "central district" to reach British immigrants.[127]

While the expansion of the night school curriculum increased the enrollment to some extent in 1915, there was an enrollment decline that soon followed. By 1918 there were only 3,326 enrolled in the night school and this number dropped further to 2,503 in 1919. The decline in enrollment between 1915 and 1918 can attributed to the disruption of war time and the further sharp decline in 1919 has been attributed to the influenza epidemic that year.[128] But whatever numbers were enrolled in night school each year, the technical education courses drew the largest number of students and maintained an almost unbroken line of increased percentage of enrollment through to 1920, rising from 57% in 1913 to 78.1% in 1919.

While there was a considerable increase in enrollment in technical courses in the night school and an overall increase in general enrollment between 1912 and 1919, despite the war and the influenza epidemic, there was little significant increase in enrollment in high school day classes. In 1911 there were 1,652 in high school but this number dropped to 1,496 in 1912. In 1913 this number had increased to 1,756. The increase in enrollment in 1913, which coincided with the introduction of technical training to the high school, was still scarcely higher than the enrollment in 1911.

It appears that attendance at high school during the day continued to be identified by students as the pursuit of an academic program. In 1911 when provision was being made for technical training in the high school, Superintendent McIntyre indicated that the high schools were controlled "by the departmental and matriculation departments." This resulted in neither teachers nor students being interested in any subject that did not prepare for the departmental tests. Furthermore, there was no provision made for the recognition of the new technical education departments that were being added to the high school.[129] It is not surprising, then, that the high school enrollment for students registered during the day did not increase significantly.

The high school enrollment increased to 2,747 in 1920 but there was no corresponding increase in the enrollment in technical courses which proved popular in the night school. If one considers the practical arts for girls and the technical courses for boys the statistics reveal an increase to 1915 and a decrease thereafter. The average enrollment for both terms in 1913 was 279, in 1915 it was 518, in 1917 it was 381, and 1920 it was 297.[130] It would appear the limited number who went on to high school day courses were more interested in academic than practical training for that was the high school tradition. But the limited number in high school, during the day, and the comparatively few who took practical courses is not significant. As Norton Grubb and Marvin Lazerson have pointed out, in their studies of United States education, what is significant is that practical courses in the high school represented a new goal in schooling, that of preparing youth for the job market.[131]

When the new schools opened to prepare students for "the world of work" so they could take their places in society, ordering and stabilizing it, it was perceived by educational leaders that students needed further direction. The finding of a job in the past had been characterized by what was described as "the haphazard method."[132] Such a method was not perceived to be in the interests of an orderly society so steps were taken to add a new program to the schools. Vocational guidance was promoted by Mr. W. J. Bulman, a prominent businessman who was later to serve on the School Board for many years. The program was launched at a luncheon given by the Lieutenant Governor. At the luncheon a committee was formed in connection with the Winnipeg Industrial Bureau to put into operation a series of "practical talks" for older boys in the public schools in the city. Men who were not teachers but were skilled in a trade or industry were given admittance to the school to tell the boys about specific trades or occupations. A man skilled in his trade or successful in business would deal with what his work produced, the wages that could be expected, prospects for advancement and how to enter the trade or business. The lecture would be printed in leaflet form by the Educational Committee of the Winnipeg Industrial Bureau and distributed among the boys so they could take it home in printed form. It was hoped the help of the parents could thus be enlisted to assist in directing the boy into his life occupation.[133]

Superintendent McIntyre believed it was necessary for both "parents and pupils . . . [to] have their attention directed to the desirability of direct preparation for and deliberate choice of occupation." This was, in his view, greatly to be preferred over "the haphazard method that too often prevails."[134] In the 1913 school year some forty-four speakers addressed the pupils.[135] Some subjects discussed were:

> Lithographing, Commercial Training, Possibilities for Success in Railway Work, Carpentry, Patternmaking, Training of an Electrical Expert, Machine Trade, Salesmanship, Building Trade, Western Canadian Grain Trade, Self Culture After School Days, Value of Physical Training, Apprenticeship, Preparation for Civil Engineering, Grain and Milling Industries, Architecture. 136

The whole exercise was aimed at:

> . . . assisting boys to make choices of the life occupation for which they are best fitted, towards which they are drawn and in which they can be efficient workers, doing their share of the world's work with advantage to the general good and to their own individual welfare. 137

This complex curriculum appeared on the surface to restore individuality. Each one's talents and abilities were recognized. But this individuality was now an individuality of function in an interdependent society and as such was completely different from the past individuality of independence in the simple society of the past. It was the new individuality described by Herbert Croly, a progressive thinker who published a book in 1909 entitled The Promise of American Life. Croly stated:

> . . . individuality cannot be dissociated from the pursuit of a disinterested object. It is a moral and intellectual quality, and it must be realized by moral and intellectual means. A man achieves individual distinction, not by the enterprise and vigor with which he accumulates money, but by the zeal and skill with which he pursues an exclusive interest . . . it is not exclusive for the individual who adopts it, because of the single minded and disinterested manner in which it is pursued. . . . As the work is well done, a man's individuality begins to take substance and form, . . . it is projected into his work. He does not stop when he has earned enough money, and he does not cease his improvements when they cease to bring an immediate return. He is identified with his job and by means of that identification his individuality becomes constructive. His achievement, just because of its excellence, has an inevitable and unequivocal social value. The quality of a man's work unites him with his fellows. 138

This new idea of individuality was inseparably linked to other innovations in the curriculum. When the decision to build the technical high schools was made, B. J. Hales of the Normal School faculty stated:

> The first essential of efficient citizenship is a sound body. This is too important a matter to be left to the individual. Well-graded physical training suited to the conditions of the

> child, after his condition has been ascertained by proper medical examination, is necessary. 139

This idea was evidently widely shared among educational reform leaders in the city for physical education was "officially authorized" in the Manitoba school curriculum in early 1909.[140] The pursuit of physical education in the schools became a complex program. The emphasis on physical education in the past had focused primarily on discipline and obedience but now it focused on physical development. The program included aspects of fitness, grace, body control, remedial exercises and education. The recommended textbooks for the course were: Morris, Physical Education in Public Schools (American Book Co., Chicago); Blackie, Sound Bodies for our Boys and Girls (American Book Co., Chicago).[141] Physical education in the schools was now controlled by law, the law in this case being the authorized curriculum. This was another step further away from the past when in the small village children received their "physical exercise out of school." The Western School Journal stated in an article "Fads and Frills in Education":

> It would have been a "fad" in those days to put physical training into the curriculum. Today one of the most urgent problems in the cities is to provide the physical training needed by the growing child. 142

Once having been officially introduced to the curriculum, physical education developed a specified rigid form under the Strathcona Trust. This Trust was formed in 1909 by Lord Strathcona and provided financial assistance for the advancement of physical and military drill in the schools. In 1911 Winnipeg became one of twenty inspectorates in Manitoba to have the program operate in the schools. In Winnipeg the Superintendent was charged with the responsibility of judging the work done on the following basis:

> First, discipline, order and cleanliness; second, performance of physical exercises; third, general result (manner at desks, standing, walking, etc.). 143

The order of the work on which judgment was to be made was clearly stipulated and followed the system of physical education in force in the elementary schools of Great Britain. The whole program was outlined in the minutest detail and consisted of a complex program of exercise and commands. The exercises were all tabulated and had to be given "in the order in which they come." The teacher was instructed in every detail of the program. In giving commands the voice volume was regulated. It was not to be too loud or too soft. The tone of voice was also regulated. It was not to be monotonous. The precision of the program was to be understood by the teacher for even the commands were divided into "explanatory" and "executive" sections. For example: the explanatory word would be "head backward" and the executive word "bend." Exercises could be carried out either to full words of command or to numbers. Heel raising and knee bending exercises could be given as, "heels--raise," "knees--bend," "knees--stretch," "heels--lower," and "repeat--1,2,3,4." Even the position of the teacher when giving exercises was specified.[144]

By the Spring of 1911 Manitoba shared with all other provinces in this program of physical exercises.[145] The Winnipeg educational leaders reported in 1912 that "physical training" was well established in "the grades" and another supervisor, Mr. Hugh Urquhart, had been hired to assist Col. Billman in instructional work. The syllabus of exercises recommended by the Strathcona Trust was reported to be in general use and instruction was given by the class teacher under the direction of the special instructor.[146] Nothing was left to chance as the program was laid out in its multiplied pieces and carefully supervised to make sure it was carried out according to plan. The physical interests of the child were being pursued but any vestige of the freedom of the past was completely eliminated in this military style program.

Though physical education was provided for the grades there was no similar program for the high school students. Outdoor games and inter-class tournaments were popular and were a continuation of what had been begun earlier. Men who were members of the high school staff were described as "active in organizing and directing the play."[147] When the new high school buildings were opened, as noted earlier, a formalized, systematized "physical training" program was introduced to the high schools. The School Board stated:

> Adequate provision is also made for the first time for systematic physical training for both boys and girls of high school age . . . it rounds out and makes complete the underlying physical training in the grades. 148

This high school physical education program was also a complex program divided into many parts. A prominent feature of this addition to the curriculum was its focus on the needs of the individual. There were no exercises given to any pupil who had not had "a careful physical examination" and upon the results of that examination the physical exercises were "suited to the condition of the individual student."[149] This physical classification of students added a degree of complexity to physical education hitherto unknown in the schools. The pupil was no longer free to participate with all others but was guided to what was believed to be suitable for him or her.

In 1914, some five years after the "official recognition" of physical education in the curriculum, the idea that "the whole child goes to school" was well established. Dr. Mary Crawford, Medical Inspector of Schools in Winnipeg, indicated in 1912 that in a changed society adults are involved with their occupations and have no time "to spend in teaching the child the best methods of living." Mothers have so much to do "they are forced to depend on the school teacher to do what they are unable to perform." The child was, therefore, "transplanted" from home to school at six years of age.[150] A valedictorian at the Normal School had this to say on December 18, 1914.

> The child himself is a unit, and not a bundle of faculties--intellect, will, heart, etc. . . . The whole child goes to school. He grows or should grow continually in moral and physical as well as in intellectual life--these three aspects of life are regarded as inseparable. The physical body must be developed and trained. Consider the value of personal health and vigor to society. What is the value of a weakling in an army corps on the European battlefields today? Even so in our community life: if we are weak and unhealthy we are debtors to the community, since we are unable to cooperate fully with other members of the social group in the work of the community. The possibilities of organized play and physical training for moral and religious uplift can scarcely be over-estimated. . . . 151

W. A. McIntyre indicated in the 1916-17 school year that the activities of the school centered on three words "study, work and play." The school, according to McIntyre, had until recently put the emphasis on "study" and depended on the home and vocation to, in a measure, provide for the other two. This had changed as urban centres were built, home manufacture declined and the apprentice system broke down. It was now necessary for the school to "assume new duties and put the emphasis in a different place."[152]

The emphasis on organized play and physical training was apparent in the growth of organized sports. As noted earlier, playground sport was part of the British heritage and in 1907 there were 38 teams in football and a like number in lacrosse. However, by 1917 there were 130 teams with 54 participating in inter-school competition on Saturday mornings. These teams were directed by an Athletic Association formed by the principals of the elementary schools and the men of the manual training school staff "to cooperate with the boys to organize and provide school sports."[153] The school playgrounds which had once been the place to engage in simple school games became a place for highly organized group activity for many young people of the city. It is not surprising that such attention should be given to playground work for educational reform leaders regarded it as "a form of social insurance."[154] It was expected to build high standards of physical and moral health and reduce the need to build penitentiaries, reformatories, hospitals, asylums, and alms houses.

In 1909 when physical development was being advocated there was concern expressed over physical defects and disease among children. The educational leader's view was that the school needed to take action so that when a child left school he or she would not be turned over to the State "a weak citizen . . . handicapped in taking his or her place in life."[155] It was believed to be necessary for each one to be physically able to "compete successfully" and be in possession of "greater productive power" to work for their own good and the good of the state.[156] In order to achieve this end an amendment to the Schools Act" was passed in 1909 which empowered the School Board,

> to establish and administer, by and with the consent of the Department of Education, a system of medical inspection of schools, and subject to the provision of "the Public Health Act" and the regulation of the Board of Health of the Province to make such arrangements as may be sanctioned by the Depart-

> ment of Education for attending to the health, cleanliness and physical condition of the pupils attending the public schools under the jurisdiction of the Board of School Trustees. 157

This was understood to mean there would be direct concern for the details of a child's physical health. Each child would be examined and examinations would include "eyes, ears, nose and throat, skin, lymphatics, mentality and infectious diseases." The school building would also be examined and this would include "desk, heating, lighting, cleaning, ventilation and playgrounds."[158] This was the beginning of another complex arrangement, sanctioned by law, which expanded the school structure. This new addition to the school program was in line with what was occurring elsewhere in Canada. Pincher Creek, Alberta with 1,500 inhabitants was the first school system in the Dominion to introduce medical inspection and was followed quickly by Montreal and other cities.[159] The School Board appointed two physicians, Dr. A. W. Allum and Dr. Mary Crawford and two nurses to form the school medical inspection team. Dr. Mary Crawford stated, shortly after her appointment as Medical Inspector for girls, that the special aim of medical inspection was to fit the child for his future career.[160] The pursuit of this aim resulted in the enlargement of the school structure by creating a new department of professionals who served in an auxiliary capacity. It also placed the child in a position where there was no choice when it came to medical inspection. Each child was to be inspected in what was believed to be his own interests and the interests of the community.

The complexity of the new system became clear in 1910 when the Annual Report of the Medical Department was published. There were 11,197 pupils examined and 4,423 were found to have defects. There were 59 different defects listed ranging from "not vaccinated" to "chicken pox" and the number of children suffering from a specific defect was listed. A comprehensive physical record was also kept on each child. Notice forms, sent to parents, were prepared and forms to be returned to the school were also prepared. Instructions were given as to how to remove "nits" from the hair, treat impetigo and treat itch.[161] Nurses visited the homes and if a contagious disease was found in any child in the home the children were excluded from school. The exact number of such visits by nurses was carefully noted in school records. When scarlet fever broke out in the north end in late 1910 the nurses were recorded as having made 516 visits to homes in the month of November alone.[162] As the population increased, new nurses were added to the staff and were said to "spread the gospel of hygiene in quarters that need it."[163]

By 1912 it became apparent to the Board that physical education and medical inspection were not sufficient to remove a child's impediments to a productive life. Since 1901 the disfavored foreign groups had grown substantially. The Austro-Hungarian group had increased five fold rising from 1,147 in 1901 to 1,072 in 1911. The Russians and Polish immigrants had increased over ten fold from 624 to 6,301 and the Ukrainians who had no representation in 1901 grew to 900 by 1911. The Jewish community in the city had grown by almost eight fold from 1,156 to 9,023. The majority of the homes established by these immigrants were perceived by educational reform leaders to be "substandard" and incapable of making adequate provision for what was called "the rights of the child." These "rights" were the focus of an address in Winnipeg, delivered in 1909, by Rev. J. W. MacMillan. He expressed the belief that the first right of a child was "to be born" and the second right was "to grow up." He indicated he believed the children of poor parents had a far higher mortality rate than the children of well-to-do parents. He declared "the first thing needed to correct this [is] adequate income and the mothers must be taught."[164] The first effort that was made to teach the mother was in 1912 when the infant mortality rate had risen from 143.1 per thousand in 1908 to 199.5 per thousand.[165] The curriculum was adapted to the needs of the child in the forming of a department of child hygiene in schools of the northern part of the city. A nurse from the Margaret Scott Nursing Mission gave instruction to girls who called themselves the "Little Nurses League."[166] The Medical Inspection Department of the schools quickly assumed full responsibility for this new venture and sought "to disseminate sound knowledge of infant hygiene." This added to what was already a complex program in the schools, and further refined and defined the work that was to be done. A course of instruction was developed that covered a wide range of topics on child care. A doll or a baby, borrowed for the occasion, was used to demonstrate how a child should be cared for by those responsible for its health and comfort. The lessons were described as "carefully written and well worded." Each subject was clearly delineated and included:

> How to Put the Baby to Sleep, Modified Milk, Baby Powder, Bandages, Teeth, Sight and Hearing, Infant Feeders, Junket, Ventilation, Clothing for a Baby, Appearance of a Baby When Sleeping, Reasons Why a Baby May Cry, Why "Dummies" and "Comforts" May not be Used, Flies, Barley Water, How to Give a Baby a Bath. 167

The school administration indicated the members of the class were expected to practice in their homes what they learned in class and to "tactfully" suggest what ought to be done whenever they saw "a baby unwisely used."[168] What had once been regarded as a simple relationship between a mother and child now became a part of school work with its own lessons divided into no fewer than seventeen instructional areas. This new course was reported to be well established by 1914.[169]

In establishing this course another area of responsibility that had once been associated with the home became a rigid procedure in north Winnipeg schools. In 1914 even bathing was a regular part of the school program in some schools. A Miss Johnson, who served as a school nurse, addressed the North Winnipeg Women's Council and stated that in many Winnipeg schools "bath drills" were held once a week. Cleanliness had become a regimented procedure and school attendance meant not only learning academic subjects but submitting to a weekly bath.[170]

The educational leaders believed the school was clearly assuming a surrogate role by taking over home duties. They stated:

> The school can well be authorized by the people to do whatever it can perform more effectively than the average home, and the average home can do very little in a satisfactory manner. In the last fifty years public attention has been paid to sanitation, to disease and the like, and the improvement has been wonderful. In cases where individuals have been left to manage for themselves, failure has been most pronounced. 171

A fresh impetus was given to reform at this time. There had been an economic boom in Manitoba since the late 90s, but that boom ended in 1913. Morton has observed that the shock of depression hit the city when building permits fell and unemployment began to rise.[172] Rising unemployment aggravated all the urban social ills of "poverty, bad housing, juvenile delinquency and the strains on family ties." Morton has indicated that these conditions led to an intensification of the drive for reform,[173] and it is apparent that educational reform was a part of their intensified reform effort.

The Board members focussed their attention on "Household Science" and Household Art" which had been introduced to the senior elementary grades and the high school to train girls in "standards of living." It was believed that "standards of living" were determined by the "ideals and capabilities" of the women at the head of the homes of the community. Household Science and Household Art were believed to implant acceptable ideals in girls thus raising the standards of living in the homes of the city. School authorities, however, became aware that many immigrant girls left school before reaching the grades where these household subjects were taught. In order to solve this perceived problem the educational leaders adapted the curriculum to the needs of the girls by forming special classes which made household subjects available to immigrant girls "independent of their standing in the academic studies."[174] This was an unprecedented move and added even greater complexity to the school program. The special program included training in the purchase and preparation of food, how to serve meals and clean the home, how to sew, cut and make garments, and how to purchase and test materials. Other subjects taught were the relation of dress to income, millinery, house furnishing and decoration and laundry work. This new program was carried on in the William Whyte School and was so unusual that a note in the Western School Journal urged readers to see the school:

> There is a school in north Winnipeg that visitors should see. It is practically a girls' school and nearly all are of foreign extraction. Lessons are given to all above grade 4 in millinery, sewing, washing, ironing, cooking and household occupations. The work in the classrooms is correlated with the work

> carried on by the teachers of household art. There is a spirit in the school which anyone may detect in a moment--a spirit of joyous activity. The school is a place where children do more than study. They live and learn how to live. 175

W. A. McIntyre indicated the "lock step system" was a thing of the past. He declared:

> We cannot remain satisfied until all the needs of all the people are fully met, until the system is adapted to the pupils rather than the pupils to the system. . . . There seems to be no words strong enough to condemn a system which prevents the free development of individuality. 176

This individuality was now clearly the new individuality that had been adopted in the school system. It was believed that children could become good citizens by being led to see that every individual is a part of one great whole and the welfare of the individual and the society of which he is a part, are inseparably linked together.[177]

This new ideal which had led to the provision of special classes for immigrant girls had earlier led to a focus on special classes for others in the school system. In 1911 the Medical Inspectors had travelled to Europe and the United States to study ways in which "sub-normal" children could be helped. As a result of this study the curriculum was adapted to the special needs of children who were described as unable "to keep pace in their educational progress with the ordinary child."[178] Special classes were opened in the LaVerendrye School to accommodate these children.[179] It was the educational leader's belief that these children needed to have "equal opportunity for development with their more highly endowed fellows."[180] The program was expanded and in 1915 the Medical Inspectors gave the Binet-Simon test to 152 children who were believed to be "backward" in their school work.[181] In order to accommodate the children who were found to need special help, "preparatory classes" were opened in the Lord Selkirk School in the east, the King Edward in the north and the Pinkham School in the central region of the city.[182] W. A. McIntyre indicated, "We have to recognize . . . individual needs . . . nature has made it impossible to put all children in one grade."[183] McIntyre went on to say, since all children do not have the same capital to start with the practical course of action is to give them special training. This prepares them for the different life activities in which they will eventually be engaged.[184] This was a marked departure from the idea of earlier days when all children were exposed to a common curriculum and treated equally. Equality meant status allocated on the basis of achievement. Now equality took on a new meaning, for educational resources were allocated on the basis of expectations of the students' adult status. Equality of opportunity had once been regarded as opportunity for all to receive one kind of education. It now meant the provision of an opportunity to receive the education that would fit the student equally well for his particular work in life. This idea led to diversification, discrimination and hierarchy.

In their attempt to meet special needs, educational leaders came to believe the reason for "backwardness" in many children could be traced to untreated defects in eyesight and teeth. Defective eyesight was believed to make children"backward" and result in an "enfeebled physical condition." Defective teeth, if left untreated, were believed to "lead to many physical ills," poisoning the system and lowering the efficiency of the individual.[185] Medical inspection revealed such defects but apart from encouraging parents to take remedial action it made no provision for the removal of defects. Many parents found it impossible to afford the cost of eyeglasses to correct eye defects and dental treatment to correct the defect in their children's teeth. In 1914 limited financial assistance became available to secure eyeglasses at a free eye clinic in the city.[186] The child provided part of the money and the rest came from "other sources."[187] In 1916 similar provision was made for dental treatment at the General Hospital.[188] Both these measures were perceived by the Board to be inadequate as there were some who could make no financial contribution to the purchase of either eyeglasses or dental treatment. World War I gave fresh impetus to meeting physical needs in the school as an even clearer perception of the welfare of the nation was linked to conserving physical resources as represented in the nation's "mankind and womankind." The Board members stated that if "the Canadian of the future was to be vigorous and effective in carrying out the work that falls to him," a renewed emphasis on physical welfare in the schools was needed.[189]

This pursuit of physical welfare was related to changed ideas on corporal punishment. Discipline had been pursued for years by inflicting corporal punishment on the child but by 1914 other means of discipline that would not involve the infliction of physical pain on the child, were being pursued. There are no available statistics on corporal punishment during the period but an article in the Western School Journal indicated "whipping" as a thing of the past in city schools. It was stated, "The schools do not resemble in this respect the schools of twenty years ago."[190] Even though the schools had changed over the years it is perhaps an overstatement that whipping was a thing of the past. James Gray, a pupil in Winnipeg schools during these years, indicates that in north end schools many children could not speak English and discipline was at times a problem. He states that when he was a pupil in Machray School in the north end, "The strap was liberally applied to our roommates."[191]

Nevertheless, there was a belief in Winnipeg that a new society required a new kind of discipline. Children were to be self controlled in the new industrial or corporate order for it was no longer possible for one person to watch over another as in the smaller social unit of the past. The Manitoba Free Press stated in 1909:

> We cannot, as our population becomes congested, keep man good by force . . . a few with the advantages keeping the many good, obedient, docile by force. You cannot succeed on that line in a free country. Men must be their own policemen and the conscience of each must be the guardian of safety of all. The ordinary man if he has a chance to live a decent life will live it. If you want good men and women in the world, devote your efforts to a large degree in removing those obstacles which are in the way of decent, virtuous wholesome life. 191

Decent, virtuous, wholesome living was the goal of the educational administration and they sought to remove every obstacle in the schools that was perceived to stand in the way of reaching that goal. One of those obstacles was perceived to be the lack of a comprehensive compulsory education law. As noted earlier in this thesis, the Government had refused to enact such a law for fear of reopening the school question.[193] There was a belief in Winnipeg that there were "thousands of children . . . not enrolled in any school at all."[194] There was a change in government and in 1916 a compulsory education law was passed which compelled every child over the age of seven and under the age of fourteen years "to attend school."[195] This was a more comprehensive law than the one under which the city had functioned in previous years. Each child would now, whether at work or not, if under fourteen, be compelled to submit to school attendance in order to be prepared for a place in society. This law also struck out the clause which provided for bilingual teaching under the Laurier Greenway Compromise of 1897 and legitimated the position of the Winnipeg School Board which had never recognized the provision of the 1897 law. The implementation of the new law led the school system to organize a department of school attendance. This new structure consisted of an attendance officer and a staff of three men and three women who were charged with the responsibility of getting all children to attend school.[196] This action did not have a significant influence on Winnipeg schools since, as noted earlier, there appeared to be a measure of increased interest in schooling in the city and this coupled with the form of compulsory education that had been in force in the city brought many children to school. In 1914, prior to the provincial school compulsory attendance legislation, Winnipeg had an enrollment of 25,814 and an average attendance of 18,212 or 70.5% of the enrollment. In 1920 there was little significant change as the enrollment stood at 33,506 and attendance at 24,317 or 72.5% of enrollment.[197] But the compulsory education law did bring into the schools children that would ordinarily not have attended. James Gray, who in 1916 was a pupil at Strathcona School in the north end, indicated once compulsory school attendance became law there was an influx of pupils who could not speak English.[198] But compulsory education did more than bring into the schools an increased number of different kinds of children, it also destroyed the last vestige of voluntarism in relation to the schools. Those who preferred not to enroll their children in school were now compelled to do so and the schools now had full control of the child during the school day.

This "full control" was perceived to be important during years when the country was at war and needed order and stability. The Western School Journal published an article on the schools and the war.

> At this time of national danger it is imperative that every citizen . . . should so act that the full strength of the nation may be put forth. . . . It is the . . . duty . . . of every man in Canada to produce all that he can, to work doubly hard . . . in order that the resources of the country may not only be conserved, but increased for the great struggle that lies ahead of us. 199

It was stated that every teacher in Manitoba was to "realize the truth and particular force of these statements at the present time."[200] It is not surprising that in the same year this emphasis was being made, full provision was also made for all the dental and eye needs of pupils. This required the formation of yet another department in the school system which operated within the Medical Inspection Department. The new structure, became a department within a department and was under the direction of Dr. R. J. R. Bright who served as full time Dental Inspector.[201] Within two years five dentists, giving half time to the work, assisted Dr. Bright in conducting a number of dental clinics. All parts of the city were served as clinics were opened at Aberdeen school No. 2 in the north end, the Lord Selkirk School No. 1 in the east end, the Laura Secord School in the southwest, north of the Assiniboine River and at 405 Boyd Building, to serve the central area. A moveable dental chair was secured to serve outlying schools like Cecil Rhodes.[202] Similar action was taken to care for children's eyesight. Free eyeglasses were supplied to children of indigent families, and in cases where parents were able to make partial payment such payment was made.[203]

At a time when there was a "sense of national danger," new efforts were being put forth to preserve the country's resources in its children. In order to make these efforts successful it was believed to be necessary to keep children in school for an increased length of time. Many children continued to leave school when they reached grade six. In 1906 there were 12,641 pupils in Winnipeg's elementary schools but only 1,167 were in grades seven and eight or 9% of the total enrollment. In 1918 there were 27,933 in elementary school and of this number only 3,138 were in grades seven and eight or 11% of the total enrollment. The enrollment in elementary grades had more than doubled but the number in grades seven and eight had increased only 2%.[204] This meant the practical subjects available in these grades and in the high school were not available to increasingly large numbers of pupils. This was regarded as a waste of resources at a critical time in the nation's life. R. S. Thornton, Minister of Education, addressed the Teachers' Convention in 1918 and stressed the need to preserve "our National ideals." He declared "our boys are fighting in the trenches to preserve our National ideals . . . our privilege here is to nurture and develop that same spirit of Canadian Nationality."[205] Educational leaders felt that if the work was to be done efficiently it would be necessary to retain children in school for a longer period of time so the child could receive the assumed benefits of schooling.

In 1918 Superintendent McIntyre left the city for the United States to investigate how others were "adjusting the schools to the new demands made upon them by the changing industrial and social conditions."[206] As a result of this visit to the United States the Junior

High School was introduced to the Winnipeg school system. It was essentially a scheme that brought the high school down into the elementary school and was believed to provide greater opportunity for pupils. But while providing what was perceived to be greater opportunity it added another level to the hierarchical structure of grades in the school system. Superintendent McIntyre described the new division of the school system as follows:

> A somewhat important departure has been decided upon by the Board in an effort to make the educational opportunity offered by the school fit the changing requirements of the new conditions and ideals and the varying aptitudes of students, and a Junior High School is to be organized in the southern part of the city when the schools reopen in September 1919. Briefly this plan groups together the two senior grades of the elementary and the lowest grade of the high school, organizing the instruction in departments and modifying the course of studies so as to allow for some measure of choice by the student according to his interest and abilities and his outlook for the future. The main changes in the content of the Course of Study will be provision for the study of foreign languages two years earlier than at present, opportunity for an introduction to elementary science, and liberal provision for training in directions that prepare for occupations of the home, of commerce and of industry. The distinctive aim of the school will be to organize the interests of the pupils and develop the power of initiative and the habits of independent work. The ethical purpose of education will be emphasized and the educational opportunity of the playground will be recognized. 207

The decision to add the Junior High School to the school system further bureaucratized the school system. But the system had already become so highly bureaucratized on the business-industrial model of bureaucracy that the whole educational enterprise in the city was easily referred to in industrial terms. An editorial in the Western School Journal in 1918 made reference to a meeting of the Manufacturer's Association in Toronto. In that meeting there was a discussion on "the leading industries" and the question was asked "what about the chief industry of all--the making of good citizens?" The editorial writer made the point that there could be no doubt but the making of good citizens "must be the chief industry of the state" and that people must be fully awake to that fact.[208]

Those who were fully awake to the fact education was the chief "industry" in the city, opened the first junior high school in Winnipeg in September 1919. The school was located in the Earl Grey School in the south end and a similar school, confining itself to elementary school subjects, was opened in the Aberdeen School in the north end.[209] These schools were described as "making the educational opportunity offered by the school fit the changing requirement of new conditions and ideals and the varying aptitudes of the students."[210] While educational leaders claimed the first junior high school in Canada was opened in Winnipeg the distinction must be shared with Edmonton which also opened a junior high school in the same year.[211] The differentiated curriculum in the school was now adapted to the needs of all the children in the interests of giving each one an opportunity to find his place in life. This completed the program of differentiated education begun in the high school in 1912. There was now a hierarchy of schooling consisting of divisions comprising grades one to six, grades seven to nine, and grades ten to twelve.

This division of the school system was now expected to operate with precision. Steps were taken to "accurately" measure the "aptitudes" and "abilities" of students by a new system of tests and measurements. When the technical high schools were opened vocational guidance was introduced to help channel students to their places in life. As the junior high school was introduced new measures were introduced so an exact division could be made among pupils on the basis of measured intelligence. These tests were first developed for use with soldiers during World War I and were expected to reveal the intelligence level of men in military service. The tests were based on the work of Binet and Simon and were developed between May 28 and June 10, 1917 at Henry Herbert Goddard's Vineland Institute in New Jersey. The definition of intelligence was vague but the tests were used on over one million men and were regarded as valuable in determining a man's value to the military by assessing his intelligence.[212] Karier has noted:

> . . . the efficiency of the human group is not so much a question of absolute numbers of persons of high and low intelligence as it is whether each grade of intelligence is assigned a part, in the whole organization, that is within its capacity. 213

A specialist, Miss May Bere, was hired to handle the new program of intelligence tests and measurements in Winnipeg. This added yet another level of expertise to the school system. Bere was described as a fully trained and experienced psychologist.[214] The field of psychology was regarded as highly technical and Superintendent McIntyre deferred to the expertise of those whom he described as having done more work in the field than he had done.[215] The Winnipeg schools were now expected to put the classification of students "on a scientific basis" and adapt school activities to "special classes" with "greater certainty and less liability to error."[216] As the tests were put into actual use in the schools the educational reformers classified children as mentally deficient, normal, slightly above normal and of superior intelligence. Special attention was given to those who were "below normal" and a class for those of superior intelligence was formed. Those of superior intelligence were accelerated and directed on to higher education.[217] The educational reformers were attempting to assign a part in the social organization to each one according to his ability.

As these reformers pursued this objective the urban environment was rejected and the school sought to provide what was perceived to be a socially valuable environment. An article in the Western School Journal noted:

> The curriculum has much to compensate the children for taking them from the real life of the home into an artificial world we call the school. [281]

In February 1919, educational reform leaders were referring to the urban environment as "a menace." They saw what they called "disease, disloyalty and dissension" and began to call for a new immigration policy so that "it would be impossible for the same problems to arise in the future that have menaced our national life in the past."[219] While educational leaders deplored the urban industrial society that had attracted the immigrants because of the jobs industry offered, they were busily engaged in promoting the urban development they deplored by advancing industrial expertise. In 1918 H. J. Russell of the Winnipeg school staff, spoke to an assembly of teachers on "Industrial Education." He stated the plan was to provide "an education suited to the needs of an industrial democracy." In so doing Russell stated that the school had a duty to the student and "to the business, industry or profession that was to receive that student." There was, according to Russell the need to make "good citizens" but "good citizens" had to be "good for something."[220]

As educational leaders sought to make the "good citizen," first by pursuing homogeneity and then later by pursuing differentiation, they built a highly complex bureaucratic organization. At the beginning of the 1890s there was a comparatively simple organization, consisting of 5 school officers with the work of the schools centralized in the School Board which operated through four committees. The School Board's Annual Report in 1893 devoted only one page to school organization as seen in the following outline.

Table V-1

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS
1894

E. Benson, M.D.	Chairman.
D. McIntyre, M.A.	Inspector.
A. Monkman	Solicitor.
Stewart Mulvey	Secretary-Treasurer.
J. B. Mitchell	Building and Supply Agent.

Table V-2

STANDING COMMITTEES

FINANCE

George Patterson, Chairman.
Joseph Carman.
F. C. Wade.
D. A. Ross.
J. F. Fowler.

SCHOOL MANAGEMENT

Joseph Carman, Chairman.
James Porter.
James Stuart.
A. N. McPherson.
George Patterson.
F. C. Wade.
James Scott.

BUILDING

James Stuart, Chairman.
A. Browne.
J. H. Dobson.
James Porter.
A. N. McPherson.

SUPPLY AND PRINTING.

D. A. Ross, Chairman.
A. Browne.
J. F. Fowler.
J. H. Dobson.
James Scott.

The Chairman of the Board is Ex-Officio a member of all Committees.

By 1919 the listing of the school organization filled a number of pages in the School Board's Annual Report and consisted of major and minor departments in administration and departments within departments throughout the system. There was centralization of control and supervision, differentiation of function, qualification for office and clearly defined boundaries between the personnel in one department and the personnel in another department. The following outline gives some idea of the extent of bureaucracy in the Winnipeg School System at the end of the 1890-1920 period, first in the general administration area and then in the curriculum area.

Table V-3

STANDING COMMITTEES
1920

FINANCE COMMITTEE

J. T. Haig, Chairman
D. Cameron
A. Congdon
F. S. Harstone
R. Jacob
H. A. McFarlane, M.D.

Meets at 5 p.m. on Friday, before the 2nd Tues. in each month

BUILDING COMMITTEE

A.Congdon, Chairman
R. W. Craig, K.C.
Martha J. Hample
Rose Alcin
R. Jacob
D. T. Murray

Meets at 7.30 p.m. on Thurs., before the 2nd Tues in each month

SCHOOL MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

J. A. McKerchar, Chairman
D. Cameron
Johnson Douglass
F. S. Harstone
Martha J. Hample
R. R. Knox
H.A. McFarlane, M.D.
R. W. Craig, K.C.

Meets at 8 p.m. on Thurs., before the 2nd Tues in each month

SUPPLY COMMITTEE

R. R. Knox, Chairman
J. A. McKerchar
Johnson Douglass
J. T. Haig
Rose Alcin
D. T. Murray

Meets at 7.30 p.m. on Thurs., before the 2nd Tues. in each month

The Chairman of the Board is an ex-officio member of all committees.

SITES COMMITTEE--A. Congdon (Chairman), Johnson Douglass, J. A. McKerchar, J. T. Haig, W. J. Bulman.

Representatives on Teacher's Retirement Fund Board--W. J. Bulman J. A. McKerchar, J. T. Haig.

These Committees meet at the call of Chairman

Table V-4

ADMINISTRATION

BUSINESS CONTROL

Department of Secretary-Treasurer:

Secretary-Treasurer--R. H. Smith.
Assistant Secretary-Treasurer--F. A. Allden.
Chief Clerk and Accountant--P. B. Scott.
Clerks--Miss K. Cameron.
Mrs. M. I. Whitcomb.
Stenographers--Miss M. Miller.
Miss W. E. Sclanders.

Department of Buildings and Supplies:

Commissioner of Buildings and Supplies--Lieut.-Col. J. B. Mitchell.
Chief Clerk--Miss E. Jones.
Supervisor of Building Repairs--J. W. T. Wilson
Clerk of Supplies and Stores--G. H. Shave.
Stenographers--Miss F. Bradley.
Miss M. G. Rofe.

Department of Supervisor of Caretakers and Firemen:

Chief Operating Engineer--J. B. Steele.

Solicitor:

A. N. McPherson.

General Messenger:

Daniel McLeod.

Table V-4 (part 2)

EDUCATIONAL CONTROL AND SUPERVISION

Department of Superintendent:

Superintendent--D. McIntyre, M.A., LL.D.
Assistant Superinetendent--Major D. M. Duncan, M.A.
Secretary--J. C. Pincock, M.A.
Clerk--Miss H. L. Stothard, B.A.
Stenographer--Miss S. Gaunt.

Supervisors of Grades:

Miss J. Ptolmey.
Miss Marian Macdougall.
Miss R. Rodgers.

Supervisors of Drawing:

Miss E. Hewitt.
Miss A. Baxter.

Supervisor of Music:

Miss E. Pullar.

Supervisor of Physical Training:

Lieut.-Col. T. H. Billman.
Lieut.-Col. Hugh Urquhart, M.C.

Department of Manual Training and Technical Education:

Director--W. J. Warters.
Clerk--Mrs. M. Wheatley.

Department of Sewing and Household Arts:

Supervisor--Miss M. Halliday.
Assistant--Miss M. Neilson.

Department of School Attendance:

Chief Attendance Officer--G. A. Lister.
Clerk--Miss S. Gaunt.
Attendance Officers--
  George Cook.
  Mrs. Agnes Driver.
  Helen McConnell.
  Mrs A. Smith.

Table V-4 (part 3)

DEPARTMENT OF MEDICAL INSPECTION

Medical Department:

Chief Medical Inspector--Dr. Mary Crawford.
Assistant Inspectors--Dr. E. B. Matheson.
Dr. J. S. McInnes.
Dr. E. H. Alexander.

Nurses:

Miss Florence Robertson.
Miss M. Jamieson.
Miss A. LePage.
Miss Etta Sanford.
Miss Rae McElheran.
Miss Winnie Cox.
Miss H. L. Stewart.
Miss M. G. Gunne.
Mrs. M. Langdale.
Miss N. J. Robison.
Miss Lola Bell.

Clerks:

Miss M. Farnsworth.
Miss Clara Davison.

Dental Department:

Chief Dental Inspector--Dr. R. J. R. Bright.
Assistant Inspectors--Dr. C. C. Graham.
Dr. A. G. Lough.
Dr. R. H. Snyder.
Dr. H. K. Henderson.
Clerks--Miss D. Pearl
Miss A. E. Ross

When the educational leaders summarized the enlarged and complex curriculum and auxiliary services of the schools in 1919 they outlined the following pattern of bureaucratic organization.

Table V-5

School Divisions and Auxiliary Services

(a) In the Elementary Schools--

(1) General elementary course in eight grades.
(2) Educational handwork in primary grades.
(3) Manual training for boys from 5 to 7 followed by a year's course in one of the splendidly equipped technical departments of the high schools for boys of grade 8.
(4) Instruction in sewing for girls from grades 5 to 7 followed by a year's course in Cooking in one of the up-to-date Domestic Science rooms for girls of grade 8.
(5) Specially organized preparatory and opportunity classes for backward pupils.
(6) Physical training and organized play.
(7) A well organized system of Schools Savings Banks, for the encouragement of thrift, having to the credit of the depositors at the end of June, 1919, the sum of $68,361.40.

(b) In the High Schools--

(1) Courses leading to Matriculation in Arts, Engineering, Law, Medicine, etc.
(2) Teachers' Course leading to 1st Class Certificate.
(3) Commercial Courses leading to business life.
(4) Mechanical Arts courses for boys in shops fully equipped for Electrical Work, Blacksmithing, Machine Shop, Woodworking, Patternmaking, etc.
(5) Courses for girls in Millinery, Garment Making, Cooking and its related science, and general Home Economics.
(6) Courses for both boys and girls in Art and also in Printing.
(7) Physical training in well equipped gymnasiums with well organized athletic activities.

School Divisions and Auxiliary Services (Continued)

(c) In the Evening Schools--

(1) Special courses in theory and practice for apprentices from railway and other shops.
(2) Courses in Household Science and Practical Arts for homemakers, professional dressmakers and milliners.
(3) Commercial courses.
(4) Courses leading to the Civil Service.
(5) Courses leading to Matriculation in Arts, Engineering, Law, Medicine, etc., and to Teachers' certificates.
(6) Courses in elementary subjects to complete the general education of those forced to leave school before completing grade 8.
(7) Classes for citizens of foreign birth who wish to perfect their knowledge of English.

Auxiliary Services--

(1) A Department of Medical Inspection now employing one physician giving full time to the work, one giving half time, and ten nurses. During the school year 1918-19 the nurses of this department conducted 84,775 examinations of pupils and made, as a result, 11,709 visits to homes of those found defective. In addition to this 8,773 examinations were made by the Medical Inspectors in person. The cost of this department for the past year was $12,465.96. The department will be further strengthened in January by the addition of two newly appointed Assistant Medical Inspectors.

(2) A Dental Inspection Department, now employing one Chief Dental Inspector giving full time and five Assistant Dental Inspectors each giving half time. The total number of dental operations performed by this department during the year 1918-19 was 10,555. The cost of this service for the past school year was $6,268.42.

(3) The School Attendance Department now employing a Chief Attendance Officer and five assistants. This department exists, not only to promote regular attendance of pupils at school, but as an active agent in the work of Social Service.

The bureaucracy that was to serve as the framework for the modern school system was now complete. A system of functionally differentiated education had been established to enable the student to find his particular place in society. The whole child and his needs were brought into focus and educators with professional expertise adapted the curriculum to the needs of the individual student. He would now achieve his individualism by developing his individual talents and acquiring a special purpose. Sutherland, in his study of Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth Century Consensus, gives an account of how opinions of child rearing and education gradually shifted to what he calls "the twentieth century consensus." In examining the fundamental aspects of the change in attitudes, Sutherland indicates middle class men and women reacted strongly to what they perceived to be taking place in the family and embarked on a reform movement.[221] This movement included health programs in the schools, an effort to reduce infant mortality and a mental hygiene program. In focusing attention on the schools Sutherland has used Winnipeg as an example of change in Canadian schooling and has noted the manual training program, medical inspection and organized instruction in child hygiene. Sutherland has also noted that while the majority of teachers were engaged in "ordinary classroom work" there were others on the school staff whose responsibility focused on manual training and "the work of special departments." In addition to these staff members there was Superintendent McIntyre and his assistant, who oversaw the school educational program, a director of technical education, supervisors of new subjects and medical practitioners.[222]

The elements of educational progressivism were now apparent in Winnipeg schools as the conception of education was broadened beyond intellectual training. The child was recognized as a child and there was an emphasis on physical health and activity. In addition to this there was a commitment to professional expertise in the new differentiated educational subject areas.

The bureaucracy that had developed might appear in some respects to be a relaxed version of the former rigid military system. Its essential difference was that it was now controlled by professionals rather than drill sergeants. The new system appeared to enthrone old values like individualism, freedom, opportunity, and equality. But it was a new kind of individualism that was identified with a special place in society. Freedom and opportunity were no longer freedom and opportunity to be what one chose to be but freedom and opportunity for one to find the place for which he was fitted in society. Equality was now an equality in which each one had equal opportunity to fill a specific place in the social whole. A modern school system had now been established and the educational leaders had undergone what Wiebe, in his examination of bureaucracy in the United States, has called a "Revolution in Values."[223] They had moved from "a relatively isolated community" where society was perceived as a number of individuals to an urban industrial world where society was pictured as made up of "ceaselessly interacting members." The focus was on adjustments in this new society which found expression in a stress on techniques of constant watchfulness and mechanisms of continuous management.[224] On the surface bureaucracy appeared to continue the reign of traditional values but these values had now moved to the industrialized city and were no longer the values of the rural village. This was not simply a revival of what existed in the past but was "a new configuration."

NOTES:

[1] Educational Journal of Western Canada, vol. 3, no. 1, March 1901, p. 21.

[2] Western School Journal, vol. 1, no. 10, December 1906, pp. 4-7.

Paul Monroe in commenting on education in the United States in 1905 indicated:

> In recent times . . . a new interpretation of education for citizenship is being given. It is that education is to make the individual an economically productive social unit, and hence a valuable citizen. . . . Especially in our large urban communities, with great numbers of foreign immigrants, it is recognized that economic efficiency is one of the first essentials of good citizenship, and that such training must become a function of the school.

Paul Monroe, A text Book in the History of Education (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1905).

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid., vol. 1, no. 3, March 1906, p. 9.

[8] Canadian Historical Association, vol. 52, no. 4, December 1971, p. 409.

[9] Western School Journal, vol. 1, no. 2, February 1906, p. 1.

[10] Ibid., p. 2.

[11] Manitoba Free Press, April 6, 1907, p. 16.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1907), p. 24.

[14] Ibid., p. 21.

[15] Ibid., 1908, p. 19.

[16] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1908), p. 417.

[17] Western School Journal, vol. 3, no. 10, December 1908, p. 370.

[18] Manitoba Free Press, April 2, 1908.

[19] Western School Journal, vol. 3, no. 1, January 1908, p. 1.

[20] Western School Journal, vol. 3, no. 6, June 1908, p. 186.

[21] Manitoba Free Press, February 1, 1908.

[22] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1908), p. 421.

[23] Western School Journal, vol. 3, no. 5, May 1908, p. 166.

[24] Ibid., vol. 3, no. 9, November 1908, p. 311.

[25] Manitoba Free Press, January 11, 1908, p. 4.

[26] Western School Journal, vol. 3, no. 9, November 1908, p. 310.

[27] Ibid., vol. 4, no. 6, June 1909, p. 209.

[28] Ibid., vol. 3, no. 6, June 1908, p. 183.

[29] Lawrence A. Cremin, The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education 1876-1957 (New York: Vintage Books, 1964), p. 145.

[30] Ibid., p. 8.

[31] Western School Journal, vol. 3, no. 6, June 1908, p. 186.

[32] Ibid., p. 187.

[33] Ibid., p. 187.

[34] Ibid., p. 188.

[35] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1908), p. 24.

[36] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1908), p. 421.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Western School Journal, vol. 5, no. 10, December 1910, p. 334.

[39] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1908), p. 22.

[40] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1908), p. 419.

[41] Ibid., 1910, p. 14.

[42] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1910), p. 57.

[43] Western School Journal, vol. 7, no. 4, April 1912, pp. 145-146.

[44] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1910), pp. 58-59.

[45] Manitoba Free Press, October 15, 1910, p. 4.

[46] Western School Journal, vol. 5, no. 9, November 1910, p. 297.

[47] These figures have been compiled from population figures contained in Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History 1874-1914 (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1975).

Also Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1913), Appendix G.

[48] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1919), p. 56.

[49] Western School Journal, vol. 7, no. 4, April 1912, p. 146.

[50] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1912), p. 18.

[51] Ibid., 1912, p. 44.

[52] Ibid., 1913, p. 52.

[53] These statistics have been compiled from the Winnipeg Public School Board Annual Reports.

[54] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1914), p. 68.

[55] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1914-15), p. 26.

[56] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1914), p. 36.

[57] Manitoba Free Press, October 24, 1890, p. 4.

[58] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1911), p. 52.

[59] Ibid., 1913, p. 28.

[60] Ibid., 1913, p. 59.

[61] Ibid., 1914, p. 70.

[62] Ibid., 1915, p. 72.

[63] Ibid., 1916, p. 41.

[64] Manitoba Free Press, November 8, 1919, p. 7.

[65] Ibid., November 22, 1919, p. 13.

[66] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1920), p. 34.

[67] Dr. T. G. Hamilton, whose term of service on the School Board extended from 1906 to 1915 was a Presbyterian born in Agincourt, Ontario. When he was ten years old his family moved to a small colony in Saskatchewan sixty miles from a railway and forty miles from a post office. It was here that Hamilton received "a larger part of his elementary education" in a public school organized by his father. At the age of seventeen he moved, with his family, to Winnipeg and attended the Collegiate Institute. He went on to attend the University of Manitoba and served as a public school teacher before becoming a physician. F. H. Schofield, The Story of Manitoba, vol 2 (Winnipeg, Vancouver, Montreal: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1913), pp. 674-675. Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1920).

J. T. Haig was another long time member of the School Board beginning a term of service in 1908 and continuing through 1920. He was a Presbyterian born in Port Colborne, Ontario. At an early age he came to Manitoba and received his elementary education at Alexander, Manitoba. He later attended the Collegiate Institute at Brandon, Manitoba and took his university work at the University of Manitoba. He became a lawyer and in addition to his public service on the School Board he also served as a member of the provincial legislature. B. M. Greene, ed., Who's Who and Why (Toronto: International Press, 1947, 1948), p. 839. Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1920).

Another man repeatedly elected to the School Board was R. W. Craig who served from 1911 through 1920. He was a Presbyterian born at Underwood, Ontario. He attended high school at Port Elgin, Ontario and came to Winnipeg at the age of fifteen where he completed his high school work. He attended the University of Manitoba and first became a teacher and later a lawyer. W. J. McRaye, Pioneers and Prominent People of Manitoba (Winnipeg: Canadian Publicity Co., 1925), pp. 79-80. Greene, ed., Who's Who and Why (1917-1918), p. 665. Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1920).

Johnson Douglass served a term on the School Board in the 1910 to 1920 period that was equal in length to the time served by R. W. Craig. Douglass was a Presbyterian born in Port Hope, Ontario and educated in the schools of Port Hope. At the age of sixteen he became a clerk in a local retail store and at the age of nineteen moved west to take up residence in Winnipeg. He worked his way up in business until he became owner of a printing firm and later a director of financial institutions. He served on the School Board from 1911 through 1920. Schofield, The Story of Manitoba, vol. 2, pp. 409-410. Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1920).

Another School Board member who was repeatedly reelected was W. J. Bullman who served on the Board from 1913 through 1920. He was a

Methodist born in Toronto but upon the death of his mother, when he was four years old, he was taken from the city and raised by his grandparents near Brockton, Ontario. He received his education at Brockton schools and at the age of fourteen began to learn the lithographing trade. When he was twenty-two years old he moved, with his brother, to Winnipeg, arriving in the city in 1892. They established Bullman Brothers, a photo engraving firm and expanded it later to include lithography. Bullman bought out his brother's interest in the business and guided the firm in a growth pattern to the point where between 150 and 200 people were employed in the business. He served in a number of associations, becoming president of the Canadian Manufacturer's Association and president of the Winnipeg Industrial Bureau. McRaye, Pioneers, p. 131. Schofield, The Story of Manitoba, vol. 2, pp. 15-16. Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1920).

An important change in the traditional pattern of the School Board membership appeared in 1915 when a woman, Mrs. E. K. Brown, took her place on the Board. Though she did not serve long, another woman, Mrs. M. Hample, served on the Board immediately after her from 1916 through 1920. Mrs. Hample was joined on the Board, in 1920, by another woman, Mrs. Rose Alcin. When Mrs. E. K. Brown became the first woman to sit on the Winnipeg School Board she brought with her a different background than that which had previously characterized members of the Board. She had taught both elementary and high school outside of Winnipeg and had taught in Elmwood for three years prior to her marriage. She was engaged in raising a family and this in addition to her teaching experience was viewed by her supporters as excellent preparation to administer affairs which directly involved children. Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1915 and 1920). Manitoba Free Press, November 14, 1914, p. 2.

In 1916 the more traditional and the emerging differentiation on the School Board were brought into focus with the election of two new Board members, Robert Jacob and Max Steinkopf. Jacob was an Anglican born in Somersetshire, England. He came to Manitoba in 1893 and received his college education in Winnipeg. He became a lawyer and served on the School Board from 1916 through 1920. In addition to his public service on the School Board he also served in the provincial legislature. Steinkopf was a Jew born in Praagh, Austria. He was the first Board member to have a religious and ethnic origin distinctly different from that commonly associated with the long term members of the Winnipeg School Board. He did, however, have some similarity to a number of his fellow Board members for his early education was received outside an urban centre, in Morden, Manitoba. His college education was received in Winnipeg and he became a lawyer. Like the majority of his fellow Board members Steinkopf was not only elected but reelected to the Board and served until 1919. McRaye, Pioneers, p. 214. Green, ed., Who's Who and Why (1917-1918), p. 744. Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1920).

[68] Ibid., 1907, p. 16.

[69] Manitoba Department of Education Annual Report (1909), p. 30.

[70] Western School Journal, vol. 4, no. 8, October 1909, pp. 257-258.

[71] Ibid., October 1910, p. 160.

[72] Ibid., June 1911, p. 198.

[73] Ibid., vol. 6, no 6, June 1911, p. 49.

[74] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1911), p. 26.

[75] Ibid., 1913-14, p. 61.

[76] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1911), p. 16.

[77] Ibid., 1912, pp. 31-32.

[78] Ibid., 1910, p. 16.

[79] Ibid., 1913, p. 29.

[80] Ibid., 1912, p. 22.

[81] Ibid., p. 19.

[82] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1910), p. 27.

[83] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1913), p. 29.

[84] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1913-14), p. 65.

[85] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1913), p. 25.

[86] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1914-15), p. 56.

[87] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1916), p. 74.

[88] Western School Journal, vol. 11, no. 5, May 1916, p. 181.

[89] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1914), p. 41.

[90] Western School Journal, vol. 9, no. 5, May 1914, p. 78.

[91] Ibid., vol. 12, no. 3, March 1917, p. 82.

[92] David Tyack, "Bureaucracy and the Common School: The Example of Portland Oregon 1851-1913." American Quarterly 19, Fall 1967, pp. 479-480.

[93] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1919), p. 37.

[94] Western School Journal, vol. 13, no. 5, May 1918, p. 184.

[95] Manitoba Free Press, April 3, 1919.

[96] H. V. Vidal, "The History of the Manitoba Teachers Society," Unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1958, p. 7.

[97] Winnipeg Tribune, April 23, 1919, p. 6.

[98] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1920), p. 39.

[99] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1910), p. 36.

[100] Manitoba Free Press, November 5, 1910, also November 8, 1910.

[101] Ibid., October 29, 1910, p. 39.

[102] Ibid., November 4, 1910, p. 17.

[103] Canadian Historical Review, vol. 52, no. 4, December 1971, p. 417.

[104] A. R. McCormack, "Radical Politics in Winnipeg: 1899-1915." Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions Series 3, no. 29, 1972-73, p. 87.

[105] Western School Journal, vol. 5, no. 10, December 1910, p. 33.

[106] W. L. Morton, Manitoba: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), p. 228.

[107] Western School Journal, vol. 2, no. 9, November 1910, p. 296.

[108] Winnipeg Tribune, August 23, 1909, p. 4.

[109] Western School Journal, vol. 2, no. 9, November 1910, p. 296.

[110] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1911), p. 16.

[111] Western School Journal, vol. 6, no. 1, January 1911, p. 3.

[112] Ibid., vol. 7, no. 6, June 1912, p. 233.

[113] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1912), p. 15.

[114] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1912), p. 46.

[115] Ibid., p. 45.

[116] Ibid., pp. 16, 46.

Manual training was regarded as a subject which belonged to the liberal or general side of school studies. But even this side of school studies was legitimated as creating versatile and adaptable future employees.

[117] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1913), p. 24.

[118] Ibid., 1912, p. 16.

[119] Ibid., 1913, p. 23.

[120] Ibid., 1913, p. 25.

[121] Ibid., 1912, p. 18.

[122] Ibid., 1912, p. 18.

[123] See Appendix Table 3.

[124] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1915), p. 37.

[125] Western School Journal, vol. 9, no. 5, May 1915, p. 159.

[126] Ibid., vol. 4, no. 10, December 1909, p. 47.

[127] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1915), pp. 36-37.

[128] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1918-19), p. 110.

[129] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1911), p. 28.

[130] Statistics compiled from the Winnipeg Public School Board Annual Reports.

[131] David Tyack, The One Best System (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1974), p. 189.

[132] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1912), p. 21.

[133] Manitoba Free Press, April 12, 1912, p. 7.

[134] Manitoba Department of Education, *Annual Report* (1912-13), p. 47.

[135] Ibid., p. 48.

[136] Manitoba Department of Education, *Annual Report* (1912-12), p. 48.

[137] *Manitoba Free Press*, April 12, 1912, p. 7.

[138] Herbert Croly, *The Promise of American Life* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co. Inc., 1965, originally published in 1909), pp. 411-412.

[139] *Western School Journal*, vol. 4, no. 5, May 1909, p. 176.

[140] Frank Cosentino, Maxwell L. Howell, *A History of Physical Education in Canada* (Toronto: General Publishing Co. Ltd.), p. 39.

[141] Ibid.

[142] *Western School Journal*, vol. 3, no. 9, November 1908, p. 310.

[143] Ibid., vol. 6, no. 6, June 1911, p. 223.

[144] Cosentino, Howell, p. 103.

[145] Ibid., p. 28.

[146] Winnipeg Public School Board, *Annual Report* (1912), p. 19.

[147] Ibid., 1911, p. 26.

[148] Ibid., 1912, pp. 18-19.

[149] Ibid.

[150] Western School Journal, vol. 7, no. 5, May 1912, p. 176.

[151] Ibid., vol. 10, no. 3, March 1915, p. 84.

[152] Manitoba Department of Education, *Annual Report* (1916-17), p. 224.

[153] Winnipeg Public School Board, *Annual Report* (1917), p. 54.

[154] *Western School Journal*, vol. 4, no. 6, June 1909, p. 210. See also Morris Mott, "One Solution to the Urban Crisis: Manly Sports and Winnipeggers, 1900-1914," in *Urban History Review* (vol. XIII, October 1983).

[155] Ibid., vol. 4, no. 7, September 1909, p. 223.

[156] Ibid., p. 224.

[157] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1909), pp. 27-28.

[158] Manitoba Free Press, April 6, 1907, p. 16.

[159] Western School Journal, vol. 6, no. 4, 1911, p. 128.

[160] Ibid., April 1911, p. 124.

[161] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1910), pp. 14-21.

[162] Ibid., 1910, p. 22.

[163] Ibid., 1914, p. 43

[164] Manitoba Free Press, March 24, 1909, p. 9.

[165] See Appendix, Table 4. Statistics from Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History.

[166] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1912), p. 19.

[167] Ibid., 1914, p. 43.

[168] Ibid.

[169] Ibid., 1914, p. 66.

[170] Manitoba Free Press, October 28, 1914, p. 7.

[171] Western School Journal, vol. 10, no. 7, September 1915, p. 45.

[172] Morton, p. 330.

[173] Ibid., p. 333.

[174] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1914), pp. 44-45.

[175] Western School Journal, vol. 11, no. 6, June 1916, p. 218.

[176] Ibid., vol. 11, no. 5, May 1916, p. 180.

[177] Ibid., vol. 10, no. 9, November 1915. p. 333.

[178] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1913-14), p. 62.

[179] J. W. Chafe, An Apple for the Teacher (Winnipeg: Hignall Printing C. Ltd., 1967), p. 97.

[180] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1914), p. 40.

[181] Ibid., 1915, p. 66.

[182] Chafe, p. 87.

[183] Western School Journal, vol. 11, no. 5, May 1916, p. 179.

[184] Ibid., p. 180.

[185] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1916), p. 17.

[186] Ibid., 1914, p. 66.

[187] Ibid., 1915, p. 66.

[188] Ibid., 1916, p. 70.

[189] Ibid., 1917, p. 52.

[190] Western School Journal, vol. 11, no. 6, June 1916, p. 217.

[191] James Gray, The Boy from Winnipeg (Toronto: MacMillan, 1970), pp. 180-181.

[192] Manitoba Free Press, February 13, 1909, p. 11.

[193] Keith Wilson, "The Development of Education in Manitoba," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University, 1967, p. 294.

[194] Manitoba Free Press, December 8, 1913.

[195] Statutes of Manitoba, 1916, chapter 97.

[196] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1916), p. 43.

[197] These statistics have been compiled from the Winnipeg Public School Board Annual Reports.

[198] Gray, p. 36.

[199] Western School Journal, vol. 12, no. 7, September 1917, p. 220.

[200] Ibid.

[201] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1917), p. 51.

[202] Ibid., 1918, p. 42.

[203] Ibid., 1919, p. 55.

[204] These statistics have been compiled from Winnipeg Public School Board Annual Reports.

[205] Western School Journal. vol. 13, no. 5, May 1918, p. 186.

[206] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1918), p. 51.

[207] Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report (1918-19), p. 109.

[208] Western School Journal, vol. 13, no. 8, October 1918, p. 317.

[209] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1919), pp. 36-37.

[210] Ibid.

[211] F. Henry Johnson, A Brief History of Canadian Education (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Co. of Canada Ltd., 1968), p. 146.

[212] Clarence J. Karier, Paul Violas, Joel Spring, Roots of Crises (Chicago: Rand McNally and Col., 1955), pp. 34-36.

[213] Ibid., p. 37.

[214] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1920), p. 35.

[215] Western School Journal, vol. 14, no. 6, June 1919, p. 241.

[216] Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report (1920), p. 35.

[217] Western School Journal, vol.14, no. 6, June 1919, p. 241.

[218] Ibid., vol. 14, no. 6, June 1919, p. 224.

[219] Ibid., vol. 14, no. 2, February 1919, p. 1.

[220] Ibid., vol. 13, no. 5, May 1918, p. 216.

[221] Neil Sutherland, Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth Century Consensus (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), p. 214.

[222] Ibid., p. 217.

[223] Robert H. Wiebe, The Search for Order 1877-1920 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), p. 133.

[224] For comparative data on the issue of professionalization and the growth of bureaucracy see John Weaver, "The Modern City Realized: Toronto Civic Affairs, 1880-1915," in Alan F. J. Artibise and Gilbert A. Stelter, eds., The Usable Urban Past: Planning and Politics in the Modern Canadian City (Toronto, 1979) and S. B. Hays, "The Changing Political Structure of the City in Industrial America," Journal of Urban History, vol. 1 (November 1974), pp. 6-38.

Chapter VI

Summary and Conclusions

The major hypothesis of this study is that the Winnipeg public schools reflect the city building process over time exhibiting the emergence of a sequence of eras with differences based on stages of business development in the city and an organization that reflects these differences and that a middle class in control of the schools attempts to preserve traditional values through the institutionalization of reform at the level of school government creating a bureaucracy that systematically carries on their work.

Winnipeg began as a small settlement on the banks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers and served as a transportation centre at the confluence of these two rivers. In the city building process it belonged to an era of urban development that Stelter has called "the mercantile era." In 1870, when the province of Manitoba was formed, the village consisted of a few hundred English Protestants and French Roman Catholics and each group was officially recognized with equal status given to both English and French as official languages. This was quickly followed by the establishment of a dual public English Protestant, French Catholic school system. The strategic position of the village as a transportation centre attracted English Protestants who came to pursue business interests and became the city's leaders. By 1881 there were 7,985 people in Winnipeg and of this number 6,679 were British Protestants. Many of these British Protestants came from Ontario and brought with them an idealized vision of an homogeneous, harmonious, unified village society where the home, the Church and the school functioned to ensure the social order. This idealized vision reinforced and overlaid a similar vision of the past that was developing in Winnipeg. This was a view of an idealized past associated with the Selkirk settlers in Red River. It focused on the British Protestant settlement of the past as a homogeneous, unified village with the influence of its values reaching from the past to the present. It also includes the idea that there was the possibility of building a "higher society" in the virgin territory of the west.

The prevailing idea in Winnipeg at the beginning of the 1880s was that the idealized social order could be preserved by the cooperative interaction of home, school and church. The home was perceived to be the basic unit of civilization which functioned to transmit cultural values from generation to generation. The young in the home were taught the meaning of authority and were socialized so they could live in harmony with others in the larger community. In this environment they were taught work skills and the importance of fulfilling vocational obligations so as to preserve social harmony. Through the family's relationship with less parochial institutions like the church and the school, children were put in contact with the external world and were socialized. They became aware of needs other than their own and were taught to live in harmony with others.

These people from rural village society were British and were loyal to the Empire. They were also Protestant and held firmly to what they believed to be traditional Protestant beliefs of individual initiative, industry and freedom. They believed in an environment that was calm, clean and unified by a people of "one language, one race, and one religion."

These people early gained complete control of the city of Winnipeg and assumed major decision making power. In assuming this power they exercised their leadership role in determining that Winnipeg would maintain its distinction as a transportation centre and were successful in having the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway run through the city in 1882. The railway established its marshaling yard in the city in 1883 and employed 2000 men whose work was directly related to the new technology of steam and iron. The improved transportation which the railway represented gave an impetus to the development of business and industry and large organizations associated with such development. The grain trade, wholesale and retail businesses and the construction industry flourished. This development, in turn, attracted more people to the city so that by 1886 there were 20,238 people in Winnipeg with the British Protestants maintaining their dominant position with 16,795 of the total population.

But these people who had come, for the most part, from the quiet rural village where they perceived the environment to be homogeneous and harmonious were now confronted by a growing urban environment. The changing scale of the city had an impact on the social landscape. It brought disorder to older patterns of life as the centre of economic activity shifted from the home to large business enterprises. The commercial era brought a new concern for regional and interregional commerce which led to commercial expansion. The new industrialism which began to emerge stimulated a new scale of population growth and of physical and spatial expansion. A more definite separation of various functions occurred in this era and work was interpreted in terms of narrowly defined roles in a bureaucratic business-industrial machine where workers quickly learned their jobs. People became separated from each other as they filled diverse work roles and were separated from the home as their work took them from the home for long periods of time each day. Human relationships were disturbed and the role of the home as a transmitter of shared values was weakened.

Human relationships were further disturbed as workers responded to business-industrial development by forming unions designed to gain better wages and working conditions. These workers entered into an adversarial relationship with their employers and by 1884 there were no fewer than six industrial strikes in the city of Winnipeg.

The development of business and industry also brought a number of people of diverse origins to the city. While their numbers were not large in proportion to the total population there was an increase of 2,137 non-British people in the city between 1881 and 1886. This increased the size of the non-British group from 1,306 in 1881 or 16.3% of the population to 3,443 in 1886 or 17% of the population. Scandinavians, Icelanders, Russians, Poles, Dutchmen, Italians, Asians, Jews, and Negroes who had not been part of the rural British Protestant past, joined the French in the area and sensitized the British Protestants to diversity. In addition to all this, Winnipeg was a dual society with two official languages and two school systems. Since the common school of the idealized homogeneous, harmonious, rural British Protestant past was perceived by British Protestants in Winnipeg as having played a role, along with the home and the church, in preserving social harmony, they took action to create a similar school system in the city. They saw in the dual system of education an inherent contradiction to any attempt to build a united people. They, therefore, abolished the dual language system and established one common English public school system in 1890.

Meanwhile industry continued to develop in the city, attracting increasing numbers of people. The net value of manufactured products rose from $1,700,320 in 1881 to $5,611,240 in 1891, with a corresponding increase in the number of employees from 950 to 2,359. By 1911 the net value of products was $35,502,380 and the number of manufacturing employees stood at 11,565. The problems that had just begun to appear in the 1880s, as industry began to develop, became major concerns in the city after 1890. The population rose from 23,000 in 1890 to 151,958 in 1911 and of this number there was a gradual increase of non-British people. In 1886 the non-British percentage of the population was 17% but by 1901 it had risen to 26% and by 1911 it stood at 38%. The British Protestant focus of concern, regarding the immigrants, was on the east Europeans and Jewish people who were barely represented in 1886 but by 1901 made up 7% of the non-British population. Their number increased considerably so that by 1911 they made up 16.4% of the non-British population and were found segregated in the city according to ethnicity and class. It was perceived by the British Protestant majority group in the city that the disruption, conflict, diversity and assorted ills of the developing business-industrial city focused on these people.

The disfavored immigrant groups who came to the city brought with them alien values that were perceived by British Protestants to be the antithesis to all they had known in their idealized homogeneous, harmonious, unified rural past. The immigrants were perceived as alien in language and religion, divisive, immoral, ignorant, unclean, poverty stricken, lawless and a general threat to the social order. If developing business and industry had made the home a less effective transmitter of traditional values, the coming of immigrants with alien values further weakened the home for immigrant values were perceived as not worth transmitting.

As industry and immigration transformed the social landscape in the city building process there was a major impact on the home as a transmitter of traditional values and a similar impact on the Protestant church. Industry had seriously weakened the function of the home as a transmitter of traditional values making the home less of an influence in society and the influence of the church also grew weaker for it focused on the individualistic values of the past. In addition to this, foreign immigration created greater religious diversity and the Protestant church found it had no influence at all over increasing numbers of homes in Winnipeg.

The major British Protestant denominations in Winnipeg were the Anglican, the Baptist, the Congregationalists, the Methodists and the Presbyterians which together claimed the affiliation of 83% of the population in 1881. While this would be somewhat less than that which existed in the idealized rural village it, nevertheless, represented considerable influence in Winnipeg. As the population in the city increased and became more heterogeneous the British Protestant churches began to lose some of their influence. By 1891 the percentage of the population that claimed religious affiliation with British Protestant churches declined to 75%. This was followed by a further decline to

72% in 1901 and a still further decline to 61.8% in 1911. The measure of the decline may not appear to be great but the significant thing is that for those who had come from the rural village where the British Protestant churches claimed most of the population, this decline signalled the growing irrelevance of the Protestant church in the lives of more and more people in Winnipeg.

There were some who perceived that if the church was to fulfill its role as a transmitter of traditional values in a new business-industrial urban society some adaptation to that society would have to be made. An emphasis on "practical Christianity" where the focus was on "deeds" not "creeds," appeared in the late 1890s. This new emphasis made social salvation more important than individual salvation and united Christian effort more important than denominational distinctions. This change in the churches became known as the "Social Gospel" and was perceived to address urban problems and was valued as a means of exposing Europeans to "Protestant religious assumptions without attempting to change their denominational affiliation." It was an attempt to Christianize life on earth by providing what were believed to be solutions to the various problems of an increasing industrialized heterogeneous urban society. The Social Gospel appealed to leaders in major Protestant churches of different denominations and Winnipeg became the leading Social Gospel centre in Canada.

As church-related people sought to give expression to "practical Christianity" so as to transmit traditional values they moved from individual effort to collective activity. Organizations to improve the lives of individuals became their focus of interest. Among the more important organizations were the WCTU, the Margaret Scott Nursing

Mission, the All Peoples Mission, the Christian Women's Union, the Free Kindergarten Association, the YWCA, the YMCA, the Playground Association, the Sunday School and the Moral and Social Reform Council. The members of these organizations found that in the pursuit of their goals they were either directly or indirectly involved in education. The WCTU was publicly recognized as educating to produce a "better" society. The Margaret Scott Nursing Mission instructed the poor. The All People's Mission was engaged in educating immigrants to assimilate them into the social life of the city. The Christian Women's Union had their "industrial home" where women could be taught domestic functions. The Free Kindergarten not only brought instruction to children but instructed parents in practical subjects. The Children's Aid Society took a special interest in child welfare, one aspect of which was education. The Children's Home put an emphasis on the education of children who were in the Home. Both the YMCA and the YWCA were engaged in practical education putting stress on physical education. The Playground Association dedicated itself to teaching values and the Sunday School focused on education.

As education was an integral part of the organization for the improvement of the lives of individuals, the schools as the recognized educational agency in society became involved with the various organizations directly or indirectly. The organizations directed to the assimilation of immigrants, and to health, educational or moral concerns, either had the school take over some part of their work or they involved leading public school officials in significant places of leadership. By 1907 representatives of the schools became part of the new Moral and Social Reform Council which was aimed at the physical, intellectual, social and moral betterment of the people. The school was recognized as a main socializing agency and its potential for reaching all the people in the city made it appear as one of the most valuable agencies in preserving the values of the traditional social order during the city building process.

This thesis is concerned with the reflection of the city building process over time in Winnipeg in which there is reason to believe the public schools exhibited a sequence of eras with differences based on stages of business in the city and an organizational structure that reflected these differences. It seeks to determine if, in the city building process over time, a middle class controlled the schools and attempted to preserve traditional values through institutionalizing reform at the level of school government and in so doing created a bureaucracy which systematically carried on their work.

The material in this study would seem to indicate that the schools did reflect an emerging commercial and industrial era and that the differences in these eras was reflected in school organization. The material in the study also appears to indicate that the schools were controlled by a middle class, who, in seeking to preserve their values institutionalized reform at the level of school government and created a bureaucracy which carried on their work in a systematic manner. There was a period in which educational reformers sought to make use of the schools to homogenize society and this was compatible with an emerging commercial era in which the more definite separation of various functions had not yet occurred. The pursuit of a differentiated society through changes in the schools was compatible with the era of emerging industry and its industrial working class. The organization of the school in the commercial era and the emerging industrial era was increasingly patterned on the organization of business and industry in the city. The control of the schools rested in the hands of a middle class epitomized in long term members of the School Board who shared similar traditional values by virtue of their common rural background, common ethnic and religious background and common socio-economic status. They pursued their values by making changes in school buildings, school staffing and school curriculum. In this process they bureaucratized the schools creating a system to carry on their work.

In 1890 as the Winnipeg School Board members were confronted with a business era where the function of the home as a transmitter of traditional values was diminished, they pursued a program of homogenization and looked to other major educational centres for ideas. They embarked on a school building program designed to preserve their values through the creation of an ideal environment. They began by implementing new technology in building construction so as to provide attractive buildings to encourage school attendance. They sought to make them healthful, beautiful, orderly and spacious, and conducive to general efficiency. In seeking to realize the ideal environment in the building program, educational leaders standardized school buildings, designed them to be pleasing to the eye and installed the most modern technological devices in heating, ventilation and "closet" accommodation.

These buildings were placed on large grounds to provide space for the healthful physical activity that was once found in the open countryside. The grounds were beautified by tree planting and fences were erected to mark the boundaries of school property and give a neat and orderly appearance to the school buildings. These buildings became part of the spatial organization and visually perceptive features of the city.

But as the educational administrators were attempting to promote an environment with the characteristics of their rural past they were confronted with a rapidly growing city and rapidly growing school population in a new technological era. Between 1890 and 1893 the population in the city grew from 23,000 to 32,119 and the school enrollment increased from 4,000 to 5,000. In order to provide buildings for the rapidly increasing number of pupils the educational leaders quickly turned to a business pattern of management in the building program and appointed an official to oversee the program. As they took this step they were beginning to enlarge the school administration and reflect the values of the urban business-industrial bureaucracy.

The same population pressures that had resulted in an expansion of the school administration also had an affect on school building designs. If the people in the city were to be an homogeneous people and the school was to play an important role in achieving this end then the children in densely populated areas of the city needed buildings of sufficient size to accommodate them. The building program reflected the city building process as it involved "experts" in the planning and oversight of construction to provide the spatial organization of school buildings in relation to the spatial temporal distribution of population. The buildings increased in size to ten or more rooms, located on three floors, and were designed to accommodate 500 or more pupils. With the increase in building size there was the necessity to preserve the ideal of ordered behavior among the hundreds of children who were placed under one roof. Bells were installed in the schools and wide hallways were constructed. Water fountains and cloakrooms were placed in school rooms so the movement of children could be directly supervised in small groups and order ensured. These buildings more closely resembled the factory than the old one room school building and they were sometimes referred to in terms associated with factory operations. They reflected the emergence of what Lubove has called "a new community type" which is distinguished by differences in scale and function.

The buildings that were built were believed to promote traditional values but the whole building program began to reflect the bureaucracy of the business enterprises in the city. It was a centralized program designed for mass education. It provided facilities so that children could be divided and assigned to their special places and was designed to control behavior. Traditional values such as individuality, freedom and flexibility were submerged in the new complex program designed for the masses of children. Though educational leaders perceived themselves to be preserving their values they were actually adopting bureaucratic values that were submerging the values they sought to preserve.

A similar process developed in the teaching staff of the schools. The teachers were to be important transmitters of traditional values and were believed to be able to shape attitudes and character. In addition to this they were seen as the key to making schools attractive, and encouraging attendance. They were charged with the responsibility of developing "right" thinking and "right" action in the pupils they taught. But educational leaders were confronted with a rapidly growing school population. In order to provide for this growing population the teaching staff exhibited a difference in scale as it was expanded from 66 in 1891 to 250 in 1908. In hiring the additional teachers that were needed a selection procedure was followed which placed an emphasis on young people of the city who were of British culture and language. In addition to this the perceived need for uniformity led educational leaders to adopt the bureaucratic idea of qualifications for office. Teachers were required to have first or second class teaching certificates and Normal School training was required.

The attempt to provide for the inculcation of traditional values that the home once provided also led to the introduction of new subjects which in turn led to the appointment of special supervisory teachers to oversee the new subjects. As teachers became professionalized and their numbers increased, the need for efficiency and order led to an increase in the power of the Superintendent. The day of the bureaucratic specialist arrived. A professional teaching hierarchy developed and was recognized by pay scales and a pension scheme. The pursuit of traditional values, "right" thinking and "right" action along with efficiency and order resulted in the development of a bureaucratic professional hierarchical order in the school staff. This submerged the traditional values of freedom, flexibility, individual initiative and equality. Teachers were confined in a system, bound by rules, carefully supervised and placed in a hierarchy recognized by payment, prestige and priority.

The curriculum also became a part of this system as it was used to transmit traditional values. With the home and church less able to fulfill their traditional roles in the complex urban environment the school subjects began to be taught with two goals in view: the cultivation of British loyalty and the inculcation of Protestant moral values. Emphasis was placed on subjects that encouraged British loyalty which was synonymous with Canadianization. Important subjects were British and Canadian history, English literature and the Geography of the British Empire. Singing and the recitation of patriotic songs and poems supplemented the lessons in order to encourage patriotism. Shortly after 1898 when greater diversity was seen in the city, as a result of increased foreign immigration, Empire Day began to be celebrated in the schools. In addition to this the Canadian Ensign was flown over the schools on special days until 1906 when the Union Jack was flown daily on the flagstaff of every public school in the city.

British loyalty was associated with Protestant morality and the reform minded educators designed the curriculum to pursue the moral order of the past in the new urban environment. Physical activity was sought through playground use and refined personality was pursued through music. Orderly deportment was promoted through military drill which in addition to providing physical activity was believed to inculcate promptness, reliability, predictability and punctuality. The pursuit of these values reflected "the impact of capitalism and commercial expansion on space-time concepts" in a new era of development in the city building process. Industrious attitudes were also encouraged through drawing and agriculture, which were related to the world of work.

As business expanded and the industrial era was emerging in the city there was a call for more relevant schooling. Commercial subjects which were consistent with the era of commerce were added to the high school but their success was limited by the strict academic tradition of the high school. After the turn of the century manual training was adopted in the schools. This new subject was designed to supplement the work of the home for the old workshop which had been associated with the home had been replaced by the factory. Manual training provided an opportunity for the child to fulfill natural creative impulses and thus prevent the perversion of such impulses in destructive behavior.

In order to achieve their goals in a rapidly growing population centre the educational leaders turned to bureaucratic ideas and developed bureaucratic organization. The entire curriculum was standardized. Precise control was exercised over each part of the curriculum. Subject matter and exercises were carefully divided and assigned to grade levels so children, at that grade level, could efficiently assimilate the material and so make effective use of the exercises. There were rules that governed each part of the curriculum and it was organized in an hierarchical pattern to inculcate certified thoughts and promote orderly behavior.

In this bureaucratic system each child became qualified for his place by meeting certain prescribed standards. He became part of a hierarchical system. This system bore the marks of what Tyack has referred to as the "military model of bureaucracy" and was aimed at "producing homogeneous good citizens." It was an organizational development that concerned educational leaders, for the individual who was the centre of concern in the past was submerged and left without flexibility or independence.

By 1907, with a large increase in immigrant population in the city, the "military model of bureaucracy," despite concern expressed over it, was expanded as night schools were opened to provide immigrants with courses organized in a similar pattern to those offered in the day school. Through these courses, immigrants were expected to learn English and assimilate British Protestant values. School gardening was also introduced to the schools and was perceived as a means of preserving old values in the new urban environment. But these innovations were not perceived to be the answer to immigrant education for there were believed to be many children in the city who were receiving only a minimal exposure to the schools and in many cases, no exposure at all. Educational leaders believed that greater numbers of immigrant children, from their earliest years, needed to be exposed to traditional rural values and this required compulsory education.

The common school program and equality of educational opportunity had been among the reformers goals since the forming of the one school system in 1890. It was assumed that all children attending Winnipeg schools needed to learn the same things; loyalty to Britain and Protestant moral values. The most important distinction was not found in what the pupil studied but in his attendance at school or lack of attendance at school. Therefore, after the turn of the century the reformer's concern focused, in large part, on compulsory education. This innovation was expected to compel children to attend school in greater numbers, to receive the values offered by the school. A form of compulsory education was introduced to get immigrant children into school. If freedom, independence and flexibility were lost in the new urban school the last vestige of voluntarism was now, in part, abandoned.

Before this form of compulsory education was introduced to Winnipeg it had already become apparent to educational authorities that the focus on homogenizing the population was inadequate in the city building process as the commercial era merged with a new industrial era. There was a new scale of population growth and physical and spatial expansion as technology changed the social landscape. The schools reflected this new era by inculcating values useful to production in a technological age. The schools also submerged the individual and greatly limited his freedom, independence, and flexibility. In the greater social order the new community type differed according to function, scale and social homogeneity. Machines in large enterprises increasingly took people out of their homes and placed them in factories where they became part of a large organizational structure committed to mass production. Emerging industrialization increased immigration and increased the problems associated with alien values. The homes that educational leaders sought to help, became even less effective in the face of urban change.

This urban change served to reveal severe deficiencies in the way in which Winnipeg schools functioned. The schools were in danger of becoming irrelevant for they were not meeting the perceived needs of a school population that had become increasingly diverse. There was a large "dropout" rate long before pupils reached grade eight and the chances of immigrant children attaining the higher grades in the school system were remote. The tension produced by the expectation that the school should preserve values and the perceived failure of many children to remain in school, or even attend school at all, led to changes in methods and goals. Calls for differentiation in education were heard in the city and a commitment to preparing youth for the job market was made. The old commitment of the schools to economic efficiency was perceived to be too general in the predominantly academic curriculum. Pupils were not being prepared for the world of work and the schools had nothing to offer the young adolescents of the community. General skills were insufficient in an increasingly specialized industrial economy where economic efficiency came to mean the understanding of particular processes. It was necessary to have children trained in a specific skill related to the market economy.

When manual training was introduced at the turn of the century the educational leaders were not preoccupied with economic returns. They therefore added manual training to a predominantly academic curriculum in the interest of general efficiency. There was, however, a change of mind among these leaders in the city as the commercial era was joined by the emerging industrial era increasing the urban population among whom were a large number of foreign immigrants. It became clear that the schools were not meeting the needs of society. The old ideals of literacy, and the inculcation of patriotic and moral values became overshadowed by the perceived need for specific job training and direct action to improve children's health. It was perceived that if the school did not take some action and change its goals it would be of little value in society.

The Protestant church had faced a similar crisis when it became apparent that its role in society was in large part weakened and ineffective. Many in the church found it necessary, under the pressure of social change, to adapt to industrial society through the Social

Gospel which focused attention, not on spiritual concerns as in the past, but on practical everyday concerns. The same social pressures moved educators to turn from a preoccupation with academic concerns to throw themselves into the affairs of business-industrial society. When this action was taken it reflected the emergence of the new industrial era in the city building process. The program and function of the schools was broadened to include direct concern for vocation and health. This development harmonizes with Sutherland's account of how a change in attitude toward child rearing and education occurred in English-Canadian society to frame what he called "the Twentieth Century Consensus." Instruction was tailored to different kinds and classes of children and what Cremin has referred to in relation to United States education as "progressivism in education" was underway in Winnipeg. The school was aligned with business-industrial interests and was set on a new course more compatible with the new urban society.

This new direction in schooling led to differentiation in school construction at the high school level to provide for a broadened school program. Two new high school buildings, strategically located in the city to provide equal opportunity of access, were constructed with facilities to meet the need of the child. These schools represented the spatial organization of school buildings in relation to the spatial-temporal distribution of population in a complex process. They were the first schools in the city to bear the characteristics of a direct extension of the bureaucratic business-industrial machine in the city. They were, as such, the social expression of a new technological era. The number of rooms more than tripled over that which had been the standard size for school buildings. Among the rooms there was marked differentiation in place of the uniformity that had once been sought. Machines were placed in many rooms and each room began to resemble some specific occupational environment in life. Utility began to overshadow beauty. The published pictures of the buildings now focused on the interior rather than the exterior and on machines rather than on the harmony of decoration. School grounds that had once held a place of great importance in relation to every school building were now overshadowed by the gymnasium where running and physical activities took place. Machines and gymnasiums in high schools now pointed to jobs and physical fitness.

A similar development began to take place at the elementary school level as educational leaders sought order and stability in society. The idea of special facilities for special needs, so that each one could have equal opportunity, led to the construction of a school building designed to provide domestic training to junior grade immigrant girls. This school building was the first such building at the elementary level to express the new "progressivism in education." There were now plants with specialized machinery so that individual children could be shaped to the various demands of society. In this type of school construction the emphasis was placed on the individual but clearly this was a different individuality from that which had existed in the rural past. It was the individuality that was compatible with a bureaucratized system.

In addition to the expansion of school buildings there was an expansion of the teaching force which included specialist teachers who were responsible for new subjects in the curriculum and who served as supervisors of the new subjects. The new subject areas formed a new division in the school system which led to the appointment of an Assistant Superintendent of Schools who was responsible for the supervision of this new division and for all school grades beginning with the upper elementary level. The school system was now a specialized bureaucracy in which the teacher became a categorized member of the plant. It reflected a more definite separation of various functions than that which had been characteristic of the commercial era. The bureaucracy differed somewhat from the bureaucracy of the past for it was controlled by professionals not drill sergeants. This bureaucracy was similar to the one described by Tyack. In Tyack's analysis such a bureaucracy was looser structurally than a military type bureaucracy. In this looser type structure the Superintendent and his assistants adapted the schools as a whole to the needs of society and the teachers adapted lessons to the needs of the child.

The new professional freedom which was introduced to Winnipeg schools in this bureaucratic system also introduced into the school system some tension that had hardly existed in the earlier bureaucracy of the "drill sergeant." Teachers' demands and the demands of orderly administration were at times in conflict and this became evident when the teachers formed their own professional organization to negotiate with the school administration over salary levels and other professional concerns. This new freedom and independence of the teachers was unlike the freedom and independence of teachers in the past. These teachers were now professionals and, as such, were part of a large bureaucratic organization in which groups interacted one with another. New bureaucratic values had now taken the place of values associated with the simpler society of the past.

As educational leaders pursued their goals through differentiated school buildings and a specialized teaching staff they also had differentiated the curriculum. The curriculum focused on differentiation in function and was carefully controlled to provide for student needs so each student could be prepared for a place in business-industrial society. There were all kinds of courses for all kinds of children and these courses provided greater opportunity for the child to follow his special interests and remain in school longer. The introduction of new subjects that would appeal to the interests of a larger number of different types of children was a distinctive mark of "progressivism in education" in the school curriculum. Instruction was tailored to different kinds and classes of children to improve their lives and in turn improve society. This was a clear reflection of how society was being sorted out into recognizable groups in the process of city building of the new industrial era.

In the pursuit of an improvement in society, educational leaders left nothing to chance and this led to further bureaucratization of the schools. Vocational guidance was added to the schools so children could be efficiently guided to their places in life. Businessmen and tradesmen entered the schools to inform children concerning all aspects of various occupations.

The night schools, which had followed a pattern similar to that found in the day schools, were also transformed as practical courses were added to the curriculum. Night schools with all kinds of courses for all kinds of people operated in connection with the high schools. These night schools had a broad appeal and attracted those who were either in "the trades" or were expecting to have the opportunity of entering a trade. These practical courses which were offered in the high school during the day and were related to what has been called "motor-mindedness" were not as popular for they were foreign to the high school tradition in Winnipeg which was associated with academic studies.

Nevertheless, the emphasis on practical courses quickly touched the elementary school as order and stability in society were pursued through the schools. The idea of a common curriculum and shared school opportunities, which over the years had been highly valued, became less important in the high school and also began to become less important in the elementary school as the new industrial era emerged in the city building process. Though there was an attempt to keep the first six grades of the elementary school as they had been in former years, the pursuit of equality of educational opportunity that required separate places for different kinds of children, so they could fit into bureaucratized society, in some cases touched even these lower grades. Older immigrant girls who were in lower elementary grades and who were not expected to reach higher grades where domestic science was taught had a special school provided for them. This school was located in an immigrant neighborhood and reflected the spatial-temporal organization of school buildings in relation to the distribution of population in the city building process. The rigid grading system was set aside and girls were given access to practical courses that would prepare them for their places in life. "Progressivism in education" in which courses were tailored to the different needs of children now entered the curriculum of the elementary school. Greater equality of opportunity was achieved but it was not the old equality where each one was given access to a common curriculum. This equality was an equality in which each one had opportunity to take a differentiated course.

Inseparably linked to the pursuit of vocation was the pursuit of health. If the child was to fulfill his function in any given occupational role and contribute to the order and stability of society it was necessary that he be physically fit. This led educational leaders to add medical inspection to the schools and create a whole new department which further bureaucratized the school system. This new department added a whole new staff of professionals to the schools.

Medical inspection had a dual role to play in the schools for not only was it aimed at physically preparing youth for the job market by "in school" inspection but it also sought to reestablish health values of the village past, by introducing them to many homes in the city. The Little Nurses League was an example of such an effort as hygiene practices were taught to girls who were expected to take their new knowledge to their homes and educate their parents. Broad social goals were not forgotten but the focus was on economic efficiency which would arise, in part, out of a healthy population.

The war years gave fresh impetus to the program to prepare an efficient people able to meet the production demands of a nation at war and maintain an orderly and stable society. Legal provision was made for full compulsory education to take the place of the form of compulsory education in the city which some had regarded as unsatisfactory since it did not compel a child to be registered in school. The old concern over the child's right to an education, an education that now was greatly expanded, was now fully met by the new law. Full compulsory education became part of the school program and further bureaucratized the school system as a whole new department was organized to enforce attendance at school.

This new law that required every child to attend school brought into the schools some who would not otherwise have entered school. The heterogeneity of the children in school was increased and the emphasis focused on achievement, measurement, differentiation, and efficiency. Special education classes were developed for children with less ability so they could have an education suited to their individual needs. Support services were introduced to the schools to provide for dental and eye care so the economically deprived child would not be placed at a disadvantage by lack of either dental or eye care.

The need for order and stability in a society that was undergoing stress led to refined predictive criteria being introduced to the schools so pupils could be "more exactly" categorized for their places in society. This led to still more bureaucratic development as the medical inspection department was expanded to include a psychologist for tests and measurements whose job it was to achieve more "exact classification " in the schools based on new scientific research. The interest in "more exact classification" so that the schools could do a more efficient job in meeting the needs of children and the needs of industrial society led to the creation of the Junior High School. This further bureaucratized the schools by adding another division to school organization. Provision was made to bring some high school courses into the elementary school and make these upper level courses available not just to immigrant girls but to all boys and girls. Children not successful in the regular school courses and who were potential dropouts, along with those from the lower socioeconomic strata whose background suggested they would continue to follow their fathers and those who were manually motivated, could receive special training in line with their expected vocational opportunities. The large organizational structure that reflected the large structures of the city building process in an industrial era was now developed.

In pursuit of their values, the reformers, motivated by the Social Gospel and committed to educational progressivism, had built an organization in harmony with the business-industrial bureaucracy of the city. It was complex, departmentalized, supervised, professionalized, differentiated and dedicated to efficiency. They had fully accepted industrialism and the organizations that went with it. On the other hand they sought to preserve traditional values, such as frugality, promptness, foresight and efficiency. But the reformers were now more in harmony with their new environment than with the old environment. Society had changed and the reformers had changed with it. This is in harmony with Wiebe's analysis of social change in a similar period in the United States. He concluded that those who were interested in preserving village values adapted to a new industrial society by adopting a bureaucratic orientation which appeared to preserve their values but which in reality changed them.

The developments in the Winnipeg school system also harmonize with Marvin Lazerson's analysis of Massachusetts' schools where reformers attempted to preserve a prior harmony which they perceived to have been shattered by modern urban life. Reformers turned to the schools to make use of them to preserve the values of the home but found their efforts to be in vain as society changed. They shifted their emphasis to preparing the child to fit into industrial society and bureaucratized the schools in the process.

The schools also reflect the city building process over time as outlined by Lubove and Stelter. The two distinct eras in school reform, first the pursuit of homogenization of the population and later the differentiation of the population correspond to the two eras in the city in the 1890-1920 period designated as the commercial era and the emerging industrial era. The differences in the eras, based on the stages of business in the city, involving function, scale and social homogeneity are reflected in school organization as the school buildings became larger and more numerous, a professionalized bureaucratic order developed and the school curriculum was differentiated. Furthermore the Winnipeg Public School System in the 1890-1920 period illustrates Rutherford's argument that a middle class in the pursuit of urban reform in the context of traditional values institutionalized that reform at a level of government and created a bureaucracy to carry on their work.

Educational leaders in Winnipeg, under the influence of a strong Social Gospel emphasis, had accepted a new spirit of progressivism and had also accepted a new individualism which substituted the independent generally efficient man of the past for the interdependent, specialized man of the new industrial era. Freedom and opportunity were no longer freedom and opportunity to be what one chose to be but freedom and opportunity for one to find the place for which he was fitted in society. Equality was now an equality in which each one had equal opportunity to fill a specific place in the social whole. Traditional values seemed to be enthroned in the new system but they were values that were totally unlike those of the past. This is in harmony with

Owram's study in which he indicated a utopian tradition existed prior to 1900. He has observed that as the twentieth century dawned the conception of the west as a vast hinterland was being resisted by that hinterland. New tensions appeared as immigration increased and the west developed, up to and after the First World War, in such a way that while there were similarities to the past the new era had its own configuration.

In addition to the specific purpose of this study the answers to the following questions have been ascertained.

To what extent were the reform ideas in Winnipeg schools original or borrowed?

The material in this thesis indicates that the basic ideas introduced to Winnipeg schools which led to major innovations were borrowed. The educational leaders visited educational centres in eastern Canada and in the United States and were in frequent contact with prominent educators. They also had available, printed reports of educational developments in other places. There were no major innovations undertaken in the school system that were not preceded by a careful examination of the innovation as it was operative in another school system.

These innovations, however, were tailored to the special needs of the city according to time and place. The spatial organization of new buildings was related to changing population organization. The development of the teaching force was linked to the changing scale of the city and the curriculum was adopted to the special needs of ethnicity and class.

Was the reform effort consistent and uniform over the thirty year period?

The reform effort in Winnipeg public schools was not consistent and uniform over the thirty year period. Beginning in 1890 reform efforts focused on assisting the home in providing what the home could not provide in a new urban environment. Physical education, discipline, moral training and handwork were areas of responsibility assumed by the school. As industry developed and the diversity of the population increased the school assumed a surrogate role assuming full responsibility for the child. The change in focus became apparent in 1909 when health inspection was begun and when the plans for differentiated education were prepared. A new ideology emerged which was concerned with achievement, measurement, differentiation and efficiency. Separate school programs were developed and the old commitment to a common curriculum and shared equality of opportunity gave way to an equality of educational opportunity defined as opportunity for each one to find the place for which he was fitted.

Were the roles envisioned for the elementary and the secondary schools congruent?

The educational leaders in Winnipeg saw the entire school system working toward one goal. While the elementary schools did not offer direct training for jobs except in the case of immigrant girls, they did serve in a preparatory capacity. The manual training work of the lower grades was seen as "a foundation" for further manual training work in the high school. The medical inspection work in the elementary schools was concerned with producing a healthy child for his future role, which, if he went on to high school, would be defined there. When the reform minded educators introduced the Junior High School to

Winnipeg they saw no difficulty in taking the two upper elementary school years and joining them to the first high school year for that was seen as simply making a consistent system more efficient.

To what extent did the presence of an expanding immigrant population, as a feature of complex urban change, influence school reform?

The immigrant population had a significant influence on school reform. The emphasis on British names for school buildings and British teachers for school rooms was perceived as necessary for the inculcation of British values. The introduction of Empire Day and the flying of a flag on the school buildings followed directly on the beginning of East European immigration to the city. The night schools were first organized to Canadianize immigrants and school gardens were first begun and developed at schools in the north end of the city. Compulsory education was justified solely on the grounds of the need to get an expanding immigrant population into school. The medical inspection program was aimed at those immigrants who had low living standards and were regarded as a danger to the city's health. The rapidly growing immigrant population brought to the schools all kinds of children, heightening the sense of differentiation and serving as a significant influence leading to differentiated education throughout the school system.

Recommendations

A number of areas for further study are suggested by this study.

1. There is a need for a study of education in Winnipeg that covers the years 1920 to the present. This would provide a complete picture of education in Winnipeg.

2. There is need for further studies of other Canadian urban school systems. Such studies would offer increased opportunities for comparing and contrasting Canadian urban school systems and discovering areas of uniqueness and similarity.

3. There is a place for a study of Winnipeg public schools and the rural school systems in the province to provide an understanding of the relationship between urban and rural schooling in Manitoba.

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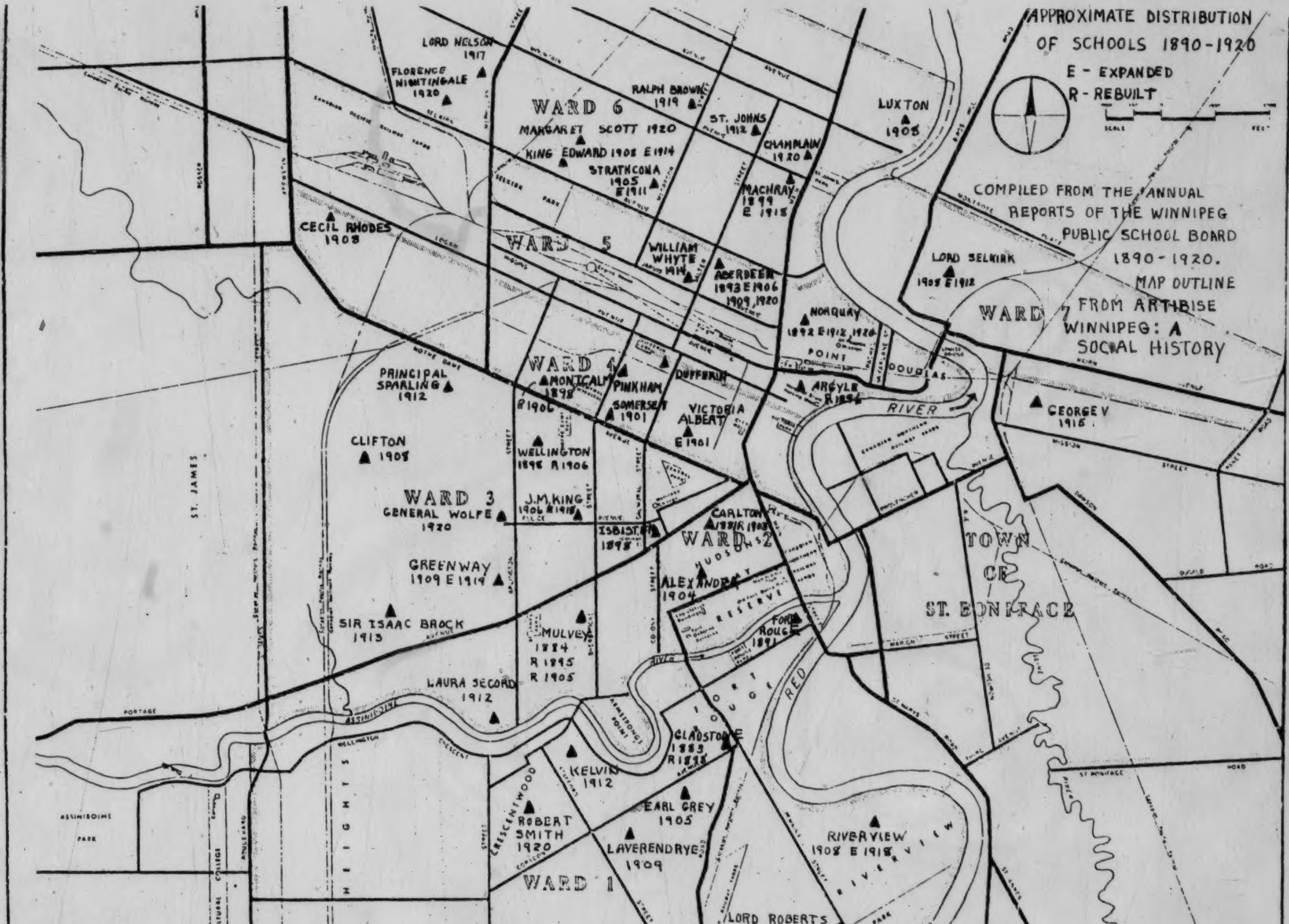
Appendix 1

Population Growth by Years: City of Winnipeg, 1871-1916

Year	Federal census figures	City Assessment Office figures
1871	241	700
72		1,467
74		1,869
75		2,061
77		2,722
78		3,180
79		4,113
1880		6,178
81	7,985	6,245
82		13,856
84		16,694
85		19,574
86	20,238	19,535
87		21,257
88		22,098
89		21,328
1890		23,000
91	25,639	24,068
92		29,182
93		32,119
94		34,954
95		37,124
96	31,649	37,983
97		38,733
98		39,384
99		40,112
1900		42,534
01	42,340	44,778
02		48,411
03		56,741
04		67,262
05		79,975
06	90,153	101,057
07		111,729
08		118,252
09		122,390
1910		132,720
11	136,035	151,958
12		185,000
13		201,000
14		203,255
15		212,889
1916	163,000	201,981

Source: Alan F. J. Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*.



APPROXIMATE DISTRIBUTION
OF SCHOOLS 1890-1920
E - EXPANDED
R - REBUILT

COMPILED FROM THE ANNUAL
REPORTS OF THE WINNIPEG
PUBLIC SCHOOL BOARD
1890-1920.
MAP OUTLINE
FROM ARTIBISE
WINNIPEG: A
SOCIAL HISTORY

Appendix 2

Appendix 3

Enrollment in Night Schools

Compiled from the Annual Reports of the Winnipeg Public School Board
1907-1919.

Year	Enrollment Total	Enrollment General Education	Actual Attendance	Enrollment Technical Education
1907	1034	1034	344	
1908	946	946	409	
1909	781	781	324	
1910	997		644	
1912	1800			
1913	3648	1539		2109
1914	4747	1619		3128
1915	4756	1533		3223
1916	3981	1314		2667
1917	3295	749		2546
1918	3636	994		2764
1919	2503	547		1956

Appendix 4

Winnipeg's Infant Mortality Rate per 1,000 Births, 1908-1914

Year	Births	Deaths	Rate
1908	3,738	535	143.1
1909	3,898	513	131.6
1910	3,890	628	161.4
1911	4,614	762	165.1
1912	5,041	1,006	199.5
1913	5,577	947	169.8
1914	5,789	729	125.9

Source: Alan F. J. Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth.